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CHINA FROM WITHIN

OR

THE STORY OF

THE CHINESE CRISIS

BY

STANLEY SMITH

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CHINA FROM WITHIN

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OR THE STORY OF THE CHINESE CRISIS

BY STANLEY P. SMITH B.A

FORMERLY OF TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE, AND OF THE CHINA INLAND MISSION

LONDON MARSHALL BROTHERS
KESWICK HOUSE PATERNOSTER ROW E.C 1901

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To

CHARLES T. STUDD, MONTAGU H. BEAUCHAMP, WILLIAM W. CASSELS, DIXON E. HOSTE, CECIL and ARTHUR POLHILL-TURNER, Members of "the Cambridge Seven" of 1885, and fellow-labourers with me for the good of China, this Work is inscribed with respect and affection.

PREFACE

IN the closing words of this book we have preferred to call it a *compilation.* Certainly, by far the greater part of the first ten chapters has merely been compiled from different sources; the tenth chapter, indeed, being wholly the work of another. This is so for two reasons. Firstly, in the nature of the case, the events spoken of could be most truthfully and graphically told in the language of eye-witnesses. Secondly, the book was required in haste. A little over a month has been occupied in its compilation, and that time has been constantly broken into by journeyings and public duties.

Our deepest debt of thanks is due to the *North China Herald,* which is the weekly edition of the *North China Daily News.* This paper is justly held to be the best newspaper in the Far East. Among its correspondents are the most able and best-informed missionaries in all parts of China, besides other foreigners in the treaty ports; and in addition to this, it numbers among its native

contributors some of the highest in the land, both of the officials and gentry. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that if its prescient warnings about the rise and progress of this late anti-foreign movement had been laid to heart earlier it might have been avoided, or certainly mitigated in its intensity. No one who wishes to be well posted up in matters Chinese can afford to be without the paper. We are also under great obligation to Dr. Morrison for the long extracts made from his accurate account of "The Siege of Peking." The compilation seeks to address two classes of people. Firstly, to the general public we have striven to give such an account of the late anti-foreign movement, as to its inception, culmination, and causes, as shall give them real information on these points. And secondly, we are addressing that large body of people who believe in the Lord's Prayer, and therefore the vital connection that exists between prayer and the coming of the kingdom of God on earth, that they may the more intelligently enter into the great needs of the Chinese Empire, foremost among which are a sovereign animated by Christian sentiment, and a liberal, enlightened, and progressive government.

HUNTWORTH, BEDFORD,
Nov. 28, 1900.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

IN seeking to put before the reader a connected account of the events and causes that have led up to the present crisis, it will be necessary to touch on the intercourse between China and foreign countries in the last sixty years. Though deep interest attaches to the story of Chinese and foreign intercourse previous to that period, it is beyond the scope of this book to do more than merely mention the facts, that in matters of religion, there had been the attempts of the Nestorians to propagate Christianity in China from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, the Roman Catholics, with varying success, have attempted the same from the thirteenth century onwards, whereas the pioneer of Protestant missions, Robert Morrison, landed in China in 1807. In matters of commerce, there was the Arab trade in the ninth century; but it was not till about the year 1600, that trade with western countries assumed any proportion; from that time it has steadily developed, entering into an entirely new phase, however, some sixty years ago.

We begin, then, with the epoch-making war of

1841 between Great Britain and China. It was brought to an end by the Treaty of Nanking, signed by Sir Henry Pottinger on behalf of Great Britain, August 26th, 1842. By which it was enacted that :—

1. An indemnity of over £4,000,000 should be paid by China before the end of 1845.

2. The island of Hong-Kong should be ceded to the British.

3. The five treaty ports of Canton, Amoy, Fuh-chou, Ning-po and Shanghai should be opened to foreign trade.

At these treaty ports, land concessions were obtained, and the rights of building and residence given to foreigners.

Merchants built their houses of business, missionaries their churches, and the religion and commerce of the West began to develop, more powerfully than in the past, their beneficent work of Christianizing and civilizing China (opium and a few other things excepted).

We reach another epoch in 1857. A second war between Great Britain and China, as evil as the first in its origin—opium—and yet over-ruled by God, whose it is to permit evil for a higher good, to the further opening up of China.

On the 26th June, 1858, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France—countries then allied in attacking China —signed the Treaty of Tientsin.

This famous treaty, so far-reaching in its effects, secured :—

1. The toleration of Christianity.

2. The residence of foreign ministers at Peking.

3. The freedom for foreigners, provided with passports, to travel through the land.

But these benefits could not be at once enjoyed ; fear and mistrust of the foreign powers led the Emperor Hsien-feng to oppose the foreign ministers setting foot in Peking, and again the services of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were required by their respective governments. On the 25th of June, 1859, the allies suffered a repulse at the Taku Forts; but reinforcements being sent out, August 21st of the following year, 1860, saw them in possession of the forts, and on the 25th, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros took up their residence in Tientsin.

On the 24th of October they signed the Peking Convention. It enacted that the Chinese government should :—

1. Pay 8,000,000 taels for the expenses of the expedition.

2. Permit Chinese contract labourers to emigrate at will, without losing their nationality.

3. Cede Kowlung, a district opposite Hong-Kong, to the British.

The French, instead of acquiring territory, insisted on properties which had formerly belonged to persecuted Roman Catholic Christians being restored

—a step which created not a little friction, raising issues dating back over a century.

In 1861 missionaries began their work in Peking.

From 1861 to 1894, when we come to the third great war in which China was engaged with foreigners—the Chinese-Japanese war—great strides had been made in the matter of breaking down China's exclusiveness, and the development of intercourse with foreigners. Travellers and missionaries had penetrated every province, railways had been laid, mines worked, the telegraph wire connected the provincial capitals, newspapers, current in the treaty ports, found their way into the interior. Forces were gradually developing in volume and strength, which were beginning to profoundly affect the thought of China.

At the time of writing (1900), one mission in China has over 140 mission stations with resident foreign missionaries, and over 200 out-stations working in fourteen out of the eighteen provinces of China; and this only one mission, albeit numerically the largest, out of sixty. Wherever the foreign missionary went became a point of light; the Chinese are nothing if not curious, and questions ranging on most topics between heaven and earth met the missionary, who in his answers could often enlighten the people on many subjects, other than the supreme subject of the love of God in the Gospel. Then there was the beneficent work of the medical missionary, amongst a people where the rudiments of

treating disease is almost wholly unknown ; where there is barely any knowledge of anatomy, where there is "no distinction between veins, arteries, nerves, and tendons," and where acupuncture—the needle being thrust sometimes into vital places—is looked upon as a panacea for a host of ills. The work of medical missions has, no doubt, favourably impressed the Chinese people ; it has opened places where before no entrance could be found, and in not a few districts made confidence replace suspicion. Then the still greater work of the press. The tract societies issuing in total millions of tracts a year, the Bible societies selling a gospel for the eighth of a penny, and the New Testament for a penny and under. The scientific books of the West, mostly translated by missionaries and Christian men, and especially the Christian Literature Society, which, with funds far short of its true value as a society, has translated some of the best books of the West on Christian and general topics, such as government, political economy, etc., books written from a Christian standpoint, so eagerly devoured by the scholars of China, that, previous to the *coup d'état* of 1898, the supply could not equal the demand.

These forces, together with the general impressions made on the minds of the thoughtful by our commerce, inventions, and the general high character of our consuls and merchants, created a vast ferment of thought throughout the empire, and de-

veloped in 1898 into the Reform movement, at the head of which was the young Emperor. The terrible humiliation of the rulers of China which followed the Chinese-Japanese war, brought the desires of the Reform party to a head, and the young Emperor entered on a path which was a revolution of the ideas of millenniums. The more enlightened among the rulers of China were confronted with a fact which demanded adequate explanation. China, with a boasted population of 400,000,000 people, had been worsted by a nation, whom she spoke of in derision as "a nation of dwarfs," with a population only one-tenth as large. Here was the fact. What was the explanation? Japan had adopted Western ideas, she had opened her schools to Western science, her army and navy were after Western models, in methods of warfare she respected the Geneva convention. Christianity was professed by many of her people, and even by her rulers Christianity was increasingly respected, the rights of her people were asserted by a parliament; in a word, Japan had begun to follow in the wake of Christian civilization.

Chapter II

THE EMPEROR KUANG-HSÜ AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT

THE Emperor Kuang-hsü is now (1900) in his thirtieth year, having been born August 15, 1871. The words "Kuang-hsü" mean "Illustrious Succession." Strictly speaking, these words are the title of his *reign*, and not his personal name, which is Tsai-t'ien. The Emperor is the son of Prince Chun, who was the seventh son of Tao-kuang (reigned 1820–1850). He succeeded his cousin Tung-chï on January 12, 1875. Tung-chï was the son of Hsien-feng, by the present Empress Dowager. Hsien-feng was the fourth son of, and successor to, Tao-kuang, Tao-kuang's three elder sons having died through excessive use of opium. The present Empress Dowager is thus the aunt by marriage of the Emperor.

When quite a child, the Emperor was fond of foreign toys, and as he grew in years he had a special liking for scientific toys, so much so, that there were few of such wonders that were not to be found in the Imperial palace. Later on he studied English, and when the women members of the

native Churches subscribed to give a New Testament to the Empress Dowager, the next day after the presentation he bought an Old and New Testament for himself, and then began making large purchases of Christian books, as well as all kinds of scientific works. In the beginning of 1898 the Emperor sent for one hundred and twenty-nine different kinds of books, eighty-nine of which were issued by the Christian Literature Society. That he should have studied so many was of course impossible, but the mere purchasing of the books showed the bent of his mind.

Then followed the reform edicts, about thirty in number, issued within a few months. The less startling ones enacted: The establishing of a university in Peking for the study of English and Western science; the encouragement of art, science, and modern agriculture; the establishing of a patent office; the extension of railways; the introduction of the Imperial Post. The more revolutionary enacted: That the sons of Imperial clansmen were to study foreign languages and travel abroad; the abolishing of the essay system of examination—which has been in vogue for five hundred years; the right to memorialize the throne by sealed memorials; and that the Buddhist and Taoist temples should be changed into schools for the education of the people. Such edicts were the direct outcome of wide reading, and the products of a liberal and enlightened mind. The effect on the

country at large was most marked, the scholars became notably friendly, and frequented Mission premises in a way unknown before. It seemed as if Christianity would roll over the country in a great wave, sweeping multitudes into the Church. And then, when all seemed so favourable, as a bolt out of the blue, came the *coup d'état* of the Empress Dowager in the September of 1898. The Reform Club had been already closed. On the 28th of that month she had six of the most prominent reformers beheaded without trial, young men of high birth and great gifts. She imprisoned others for life, and banished others to the confines of the Empire. She suppressed the native newspapers, forbade the formation of reform societies, promoted anti-reformers to places of power, issued a series of edicts exactly counteracting the reform edicts of the Emperor, set the price of 100,000 taels on the head of the leading reformer, K'ang yu-wei (who, forewarned by the Emperor, had escaped from Peking just in time to save his life); she got together the names of some three hundred prominent reformers, with a view to their future hurt, and sought in every possible way to stamp out and annihilate everything connected with the words progress and reform.

It must not be imagined that all this was the work of one woman. The Empress is entirely dependent on her advisers for news of the outside world; she had got herself surrounded by a little coterie of reactionary bigots, men in whom the three

banes of China—pride, ignorance, and superstition—were developed to the highest degree, so fierce in their unreasonable hatred of the foreigner that it was a remark current among them, that they longed to have the skin of a foreigner for their bed quilt. These were the men—K'ang-yi, Hsü-Tung, Chao Shu-ch'iao, Wang wen-shao, and K'un-kang—who poured into the ears of the Empress Dowager ghastly tales of the horrors perpetrated in Western schools, and bespoke the direful calamities that would come on China if she adopted Western learning and customs. She became their dupe before she was their leader.

The immediate cause of this great reactionary movement sprang out of the Emperor's edict granting the right to memorialize him by sealed memorials.

[1]A secretary of the Board of Rites, Wang Chao by name, presented a memorial urging that the Protestant Christian religion should be made the State religion of the Empire in place of Confucianism, that a Parliament should be formed, and the queue and national costume give place to Western dress. For this Wang Chao was denounced to the Emperor by the president and vice-president of the Board, who, contrary to the edict, had intercepted the memorial. To the surprise of most, the Emperor strongly condemned the action

[1] See *North China Herald*, September 19, 26, and October 3, 1900.

of the denouncers, promoted Wang Chao, and cashiered the president and vice-president for ever from Imperial service.

This brought matters to a head. The reactionaries, Kang-yi, Hsü Tung, and others named above, memorialized the Empress, together with the cashiered presidents of the Board of Rites. "Soon after this," to quote from the *North China Herald*, "one of the most bigoted and notorious Conservatives of Peking, a censor named Yang Chung-yi, and a secret parasite and protégé of Yung-lu, suddenly presented a secret memorial to the Empress Dowager, pointing out the dangers into which reform was rushing the country through the introduction of Western civilization, which would be followed soon afterwards by the predominance of foreign countries in the Empire, and the gradual disappearance of the dynasty. The censor implored the Empress Dowager, therefore, to resume the reins of government, as this was the only way to save the Empire."

The real author of this memorial was Yung-lu, commander-in-chief of the forces, who had thrown in his lot with the Empress, and determined to secure his own selfish ambitions on the overthrow of the Emperor.

Shortly after this Yung-lu had an interview with the Empress in I-ho Park. "He advised her to call the Imperial clansmen, Prince Tuan and Prince Tsai-lien, to her presence, and ask for their assistance in

deposing the Emperor and crushing his reform advisers, and to purchase Prince Tuan's loyal allegiance by promising to choose the Emperor's successor on the throne from amongst his younger sons. The only thing these two princes were required to do, was to lead all the princes, dukes, nobles, and ministers of the Imperial clan on a certain day, and proceed to I-ho Park to demand the deposition of the 'unworthy' Emperor, who was sending the Imperial house and the Empire to perdition, and slavery under foreign nations, and to pray that the reins of government be taken over for the time by the Empress Dowager herself in order to save the situation. On the other hand, Hsü-Tung, K'ang-Yi, Chao Shu-ch'iao, and others were to lead the ministers and officials, not belonging to the Imperial house, and supplement the demands of the former."

"While the plots against the Emperor and his reformers were maturing, the latter were also trying their best to counteract their enemies. It was soon known that Yung-lu had visited I-ho Park, and as he held the chief military power in the vicinity, without whose aid the reactionists could never succeed in their scheme, the Emperor was determined to make away with him. To do this it was decided to make use of the services of Yüan Shih-kai, commanding the best armed and best disciplined corps of Yung-lu's grand army." Yüan Shih-kai had been Imperial resident in Corea, is now governor of Shan-tung province, and was at that

time "in command of 12,500 troops, modelled, drilled, and disciplined after the most approved German system."

Yüan was promoted by the Emperor to be vice-president of the Board of Works, and given a public audience of the Emperor. After this "he was immediately invited to a secret council with the Emperor's principal reformers, held at K'ang Yu-wei's residence. He was there told that the Emperor intended to give him a secret audience in the palace that evening, that the Emperor would then order him to bring to Tientsin a force of 3,000 men, when he was to arrest and summarily decapitate Yung-lu inside the Vice-regal yamen. (Yung-lu was at that time Viceroy of Chih-li province, and resident in Tientsin.) The next step to be required was that Yüan Shih-kai should immediately afterwards bring up his troops by rail to Peking, bringing along with him the Vice-regal seals he was to take from Yung-lu. Arrived at Peking, Yüan Shih-kai was to march over at once to I-ho Park, surround it, and prevent all ingress or egress, his Majesty being determined to keep the Empress Dowager a prisoner of state there, until the Reform Government had become so firmly rooted that the Empress Dowager and her Conservatives would never, hereafter, be able to restore the old Conservative order of things in the Empire again."

Yüan Shih-kai, however, played into the hands of Yung-lu, and divulged the scheme for his de-

struction, whereupon Yung-lu hastened to Peking, and "went at once into the Forbidden City to find the Empress's favourite eunuch, the notorious Li Lien-ying, 'the man with the false smile,' who was Yung-lu's closest ally and fellow-conspirator for the favour of the Empress Dowager. Yung-lu's tale was soon told, and the eunuch immediately led the way to the private apartments of the Empress Dowager. As soon as Yung-lu had entered the Empress Dowager's presence, he prostrated himself, calling out, 'Save life! your Majesty, save life!' 'You are safe enough here, are you not?' was the answer. 'Has any one followed you into these precincts in search of your life? Come, rise up and state your business.'"

The story did not take long in telling.

The Empress arose, and swept into the Emperor's rooms.

After exposing the plot, and giving him a most terrible rating, she ended up by saying, "You are, after all, but an unsophisticated child. Return to your inner apartments! It is evident that I must resume control to save the Empire, which you, in your extreme unwisdom and foolishness, seem to be doing your best to drive to perdition. Oh, those traitors! those traitors!" And fire flashed from those keen, black-brown eyes, which palace officials, who have since narrated the above historical incident, declare "only flash when she is about to order men to their death."

The Emperor was confined in his apartment.

Then followed the reign of terror and bloodshed. Under Yung-lu's advice, the Empress Dowager commanded Li Lien-ying, the chief eunuch, to arrest all the Emperor's eunuchs, drag them to the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, there, without trial, to be beaten to death with staves—no swords or dangerous weapons being allowed to be used inside the palace precincts by ancient law. Twenty-three eunuchs met their fate there on the first day, nineteen on the second, and eleven on the third day after the events narrated above.

Elsewhere secret mandates were issued by the Empress Dowager, branding the reformers as arch-traitors, and ordering their arrest and summary death wherever found within the jurisdiction of the Empire.

Yung-lu and Li Lien-ying advised the Empress to put the Emperor to death. 'Do not be too hasty,' replied the Empress. 'Keep your sense. Above all, don't do anything before memorializing me.' She ordered the assembly of the Grand Council within two hours. It was then agreed upon between the Empress Dowager, Yung-lu, Princes Tuan and Ch'ing, that the Empress should take over the reins of government, as, owing to the weak state of the Emperor's health, he was unable to bear the burden of the State.

"This was, of course, unknown to the Emperor;

but when the Empress sent her eunuch, Li Lien-ying, to the Emperor's palace, demanding his own seal, then Kuang-hsü felt at last that all was really lost, and that his enemies were now intending to use his own seals to carry on the reactionary government now imminent." And how often since that time "bogus edicts" have been issued in the Emperor's name, edicts exactly opposite to his known desires and aims! Then was a policy entered into by the so-called "Government" of China, which had as its end nothing less than the complete closing of the chapter of intercourse between the "middle kingdom" and "outside barbarians," those in the interior should be driven to the treaty ports, and from thence the foreigners should be driven to their own lands, the concession land of treaty ports re-taken, and China become a nation separate from all nations, dwelling alone in her ample domain, maintaining for ever, without change, the traditions and customs of antiquity.

Chapter III

THE REACTIONARIES AND THEIR POLICY

THE policy of the Empress Dowager and her reactionary advisers was not long in developing itself. Within three months of the *coup d'état*, an Imperial edict was issued by the Empress Dowager, on the 5th of November, 1898, ordering the formation and organization of volunteer corps, as she said,[1] "to turn the whole nation into an armed camp in case of need."

These volunteer corps were what has since become known to Europe by the name of "Boxers." The Chinese equivalent is three characters: "I," meaning "righteous"; "volunteer," or "patriotic"; "ho," meaning "harmonious"; and "ch'üan," meaning "a fist," for which was sometimes substituted "t'uan"—"a band"; the idea of "fist" being that of "compactness"; the whole term meaning a body or band of men compacted, or joined harmoniously together, for patriotic ends. Their professed end was the support of the present Manchu dynasty and the expulsion of the foreigner. They were a

[1] *North China Herald*, July 18, 1900.

resuscitated body, having been condemned by Imperial decree in the reign of Chia-Ch'ing about 1810. They professed to be possessed by spirits who gave them magical powers, and by the use of certain charms and incantations gave out that they were invulnerable to foreign bullet and sword.

It is common in China, when you ask a native what religion he belongs to, to get the answer, "The great religion." By this answer he means that he is a follower of that blend of religions which is professed by the vast majority of his countrymen, and which is a mixture of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. A very common motto, often seen inscribed in stone or carved in wood over the doors of the gentry in China, is "The three religions revert to one." The mind of the average Chinese is so truly indifferent to matters of religion, that he is quite content to be at the same time a follower of three systems of religion, which are inherently contradictory and mutually antagonistic; no fact proclaims more loudly that these present troubles have not their origin in matters of religion. The Government of China, which openly patronizes three religions, which has as subjects some 30,000,000 Mohammedans, besides numerous secret sects, many of which are formed with a view to the practice of virtue, and, as such, permitted to flourish, which has legalised Christianity and issued edicts speaking of its propagators in appreciative terms, would not be likely to imperil

its existence over a quarrel about religion. "Let in the Protestants," said Tseng Kuoh-fan, a great Chinese patriot, who, with Gordon, overthrew the T'aip'ing rebellion, "and let them fight it out with the Roman Catholics." Such a remark would illustrate, in normal times, the attitude of the official Chinese mind towards religion. It would be only what was to be expected, then, that the Boxers should profess themselves on the popular side, as followers of "the great religion." Hence their trinity of deities. They worshipped Kuan Ti, who may be termed a Confucian god of war, and patron guardian of the dynasty; Kuan Ch'eng-tsï, an incarnation of Lao-tsï, the founder of the Taoist religion; and the joyful Buddha, thus proclaiming their allegiance to Buddhism.

They did not, however, spring into immediate notice.

"On the 16th of March, 1899, the Buddhist Lama Abbot gave a very large contribution to the special fund raised for buying military supplies by the Empress Dowager. The head of the Taoist sect, Pope Chang, later on had an interview with the Empress Dowager, and counselled the slaughter of the foreigner.

"In the May and June of 1899 K'ang-yi visited the different treaty ports, with the object of giving explicit instructions to the different Viceroys and Governors about the formation of Boxer corps. He set out with the high-sounding title of Impe-

rial High Commissioner, but ere long even the Chinese dubbed him Imperial High Extortioner. Vast sums were extorted, and every day at that time came fresh items of news regarding the purchase and import of new and powerful armament. As early as September 4th it was reported in the Shanghai papers that the Boxers were preparing and drilling for an anti-foreign movement."

"On the 28th of September an Imperial edict was issued, ordering all civil and military officials to strictly observe the 'Sixteen sacred edicts of K'ang-hsi,' and also the 'Teachings of the Emperor Yung Cheng' against heresy and heterodoxy, and to set apart certain days every month to explain the same to the masses." This would be an edict in favour of Confucianism, for, in the sacred edict of K'ang-hsi, Buddhism, Taoism and Christianity (in the only form of it then known —Roman Catholic) are one and all condemned.

By this time the Boxers in Shantung had already acquired a bad name, and were beginning to attract notice. This was owing to the fact that a rabid anti-foreign official was governor of the province. His name was Yü-hsien. The previous governor of the same province, Li P'ing-heng (degraded at the request of the Germans because of the murder of a Roman Catholic bishop and priest), having taken a residence near the border of the province, also stirred up much mischief. To show Yü-hsien's anti-foreign proclivities, the American missionaries

in Shantung, in the capital of the province, vouch for the truth of the following stories[1]:—

"K'ung Shang-lin, a Hanlin, prominent because of his fondness for Western studies, was personally censured by Yü-hsien thus: 'Why do you, a descendant of Confucius, have anything to do with foreign sects? Do you purpose to become a foreign devil yourself?'"

To Tuan ta-chi, an M.A., and student of English, he said, "I was a friend of your father's, therefore I exhort you, if you have any hope of official preferment, to keep away from these foreigners. Our Emperor has been bewitched by them, has drunk their medicine, and, as is evident to all men, has been injured by them."

Again he censured a certain Yü tse-ta, who had seen service in the Chinese consulate at New York, in these terms: "You fellows who have gone abroad, and your like, are responsible for these troubles. Foreigners had already ceased coming when you encouraged them to come again, because unless they were here you have no hopes of a place."

The same missionaries affirm that popular report and rumour invariably classed Yü as favourable to the Boxers, and hostile to everything foreign. It was said his name was on the Boxer flags, his troops secretly supplied them with arms; when he left Shantung large numbers of the Boxers along the roadside petitioned him to return. When he

[1] *North China Herald*, August 15, 1900.

became governor all the natives agreed that the "foreign sects" could no longer flourish. Later it was affirmed that Yü had proposed that Christians should be made to cut off their queues.

In their memorandum of formal charges against Yü-hsien the American missionaries at Chi nan Fu, dated February 14th, 1900, mention the following facts :—

1. Yü refused to allow his subordinates to properly report to him concerning the uprising. Because of his attitude magistrates reported falsely or not at all. Even Intendant P'an, who is at the head of the foreign bureau in Chinan, had difficulty in securing audience. At a serious period in the early stages of the uprising he was told by Yü, "These Church troubles are exceedingly difficult to manage; do not bother me with them."

2. Yü sent grossly false reports to Peking concerning the uprising.

(*a*) In Yü's despatches of December 1st and 3rd, 1899, to the Foreign Office, sent by the Office to the American minister, Mr. Conger, he represents the Christians at Han-chia-chuang as being the aggressors, having set an ambush for the Boxers, to attack them on their return home, and steal their ponies. Entirely at variance with the governor's statements we learn from the Roman Catholic Bishop, Monseigneur de Marhi, and other sources, the following to be the facts :—Boxers within a radius of thirty miles, in numbers estimated at from

five to seven hundred, assembled near Han-chia-chuang, a Roman Catholic village, with the express purpose of looting it. The Christians there having for several weeks previously seen their co-religionists in neighbouring counties subjected to mob violence, without any hindrance from the officials, had been compelled, from sheer necessity, to provide for their own protection. They had encircled the village with a *cheval-de-frise* of the thorny date tree, and had procured firearms. When attacked by the Boxers they bravely and successfully resisted.

(*b*) In the same despatches Yü says, "I beg the Foreign Office to tell Mr. Conger to instruct the missionaries to restrain and keep the native Christians in order." Inasmuch as all the cases Yü refers to pertain solely to the French and Italian mission work, it is extremely misleading on the basis of these cases, whether proved or not, to imply that the American missionaries have been guilty of misconduct. As a matter of fact, the American missionaries continually impress upon their Chinese converts that their acceptance of Christianity in no wise permits them to disregard the laws of China. So far as the Christians under our care are concerned, it is manifestly exceedingly improbable that they should indulge in any aggressive conduct. They are so few in number, so widely scattered, and so very weak in comparison with the Boxers, that aggressive action would be disastrous. Moreover,

they had been repeatedly instructed by the missionaries to avoid every possible occasion of offence, consistent with a maintenance of Christianity, to offer no resistance whatever to the Boxers, and when they had reason to fear for their personal safety, to get out of the way as quickly as possible. That there has been no loss of life among our converts, and little personal violence, is, in a measure, due to these instructions.

(*c*) In the same despatches Yü reports "that soldiers in Kao-t'ang and Po-p'ing are patrolling, with strict orders to arrest rioters; that in missionary cases immediate action is always taken; day and night every effort is put forth."

In view of the exceedingly small number of arrests made, and the impunity with which the Christians were pillaged in large numbers at this time and subsequently, the above statements must be pronounced grossly false.

(*d*) Yü, in his memorial to the Throne, written just as he was leaving Chinan, reported the uprising as suppressed and quiet everywhere. Just at this time Mr. Brooks (S.P.G.) was murdered by Boxers only fifty-five miles from Chinan, and within a radius of ten miles a band of Boxers, aggregating three or four hundred men, was engaged in pillage, arson, and extortion.

3. Yü, on his own initiative, seems to have done nothing whatever in the way of antagonizing the Boxers. All action or semblance of action on his

part was the result of pressure from the consular or diplomatic body.

4. Yü not only did not himself antagonize the Boxers, but at a critical stage of the movement he degraded and censured officials who did antagonize it. We desire to call particular attention to his conduct in this respect. Whether due to ignorance or intention, it could not but be construed as proceeding from sympathy with the Boxers, was so considered by them, and resulted in perpetuating and augmenting the rebellion when it gave promise of collapse.

Yü tse-ta was appointed in March, 1899, as magistrate of T'an-ch'eng hsien to cope with the anti-foreign movement there. In the face of much opposition, attended with no little danger to himself, he took into custody six of the rioters. Yü-hsien compelled the release of the rioters, condemned a proclamation of the magistrate, and had him cashiered on the ground of obstinacy and unfitness for office. Ch'en, another magistrate, was treated in a similar way. Of even graver consequence was his degrading Yüan shih-k'ai for defeating the Boxers in battle and dispersing them, Yü charging Yüan with killing innocent people. This battle took place at Shen-lun-tien in October. That some spectators may have been killed in that contest is quite possible. The rioters had no distinctive uniform, and crowds collect easily in China. It was, however, a direct encouragement to the rebellion to

act as Yü did. Moreover, Yü's record as prefect of Ts'ao-chou Fu did not show him to be a man peculiarly averse to bloodshed.

5. Yü, notwithstanding all the pressure from Peking, made but a wretched pretence of suppressing the uprising. Troops sent out in considerable numbers aggravated the disorder by openly expressing sympathy with it. Save the arrest of a few leaders and slight skirmishing, they did nothing. It is generally believed, and on good authority, that Yü prohibited the soldiers from fighting. Whatever the orders may have been, the fact is beyond controversy that the troops were inactive, and that the rebellion was helped rather than hindered by their presence. When Boxers were attacking the Roman Catholic village, referred to above, provincial troops, less than a mile distant, were merely interested spectators of the attack. At Ta-chi chuang Boxers looted thirteen families, spending several hours there; a squad of cavalry two miles away did nothing, though the officials had been previously notified that an attack on the Christians was imminent.

6. Yü, in his own proclamations, and those of his subordinates, repeatedly stated, directly and inferentially, that there were a number of worthy men engaged in the uprising; that the drills they practised were legitimate and beneficial, and that the trouble was brought about by the misdeeds of Christians, and that a spirit of revenge would

naturally manifest itself. The proclamations, threatening severe measures against the rioters, were positively harmful, because no attempts were made to carry out threats. Rev. John Murray, of Chining chou, states that "previous to the visit and the proclamations of Governor Yü last August, we were at rest, though our neighbours the Catholics suffered on every side. After that we heard there would be the same fate for us, and it all came to pass." The missionaries record, too, the letter of Mr. Conger, American minister at Peking, addressed to them, in which he says: "There can be little doubt that the late governor, Yü-hsien, is very largely, if not wholly, responsible for the whole deplorable situation in Shantung." The terrible part this murderer played when Governor of Shan-si, is only what might have been expected from his previous record.

November 21st, 1899, and thus use her paramount authority to indoctrinate her people with what she must have known was a lie, but yet with just such a shadow of truth attached to it as should make the document all the more credible to the Chinese. Previous to this, the Government had issued instructions to the people in rhyme, telling them how heavily the foreigners taxed those whom they ruled; this we remember having seen about August of the same year.

The outcome of these documents and other inflammatory writings, was that the masses of China were strongly incited to anti-foreign hatred. Every one knows how deeply the masses resent anything that touches their supposed rights. And here were the masses of China being officially taught by those in authority, that foreigners wanted to seize the whole of China, take away all their rights, tax them heavily, and make them a race of slaves.

We reproduce the mischievous edict in full.

[4] "Our Empire is now labouring under great difficulties, which are becoming daily more serious. The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavours to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are

[4] *North China Herald*, December 27, 1899.

certain things which this Empire can never consent to, and that, if hardly pressed upon, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves, and steels us to present a united front against our aggressors. No one can guarantee under such circumstances who will be the victor, and who the conquered, in the end. But there is an evil habit, which has become almost a custom, amongst our Viceroys and Governors, which, however, must be eradicated at all costs. For instance, whenever these high officials have had on their hands cases of international dispute, all their actions seem to be guided by the belief in their breasts that such cases would eventually be 'amicably arranged.' These words seem never to be out of their thoughts; hence, when matters do come to a crisis, they, of course, find themselves utterly unprepared to resist any hostile aggressions on the part of the foreigner. We, indeed, consider this the most serious failure in the duty which the high provincial authorities owe to the Throne, and we now find it incumbent upon ourselves to censure such conduct in the most severe terms.

"It is our special command, therefore, that should any high official find himself so hard pressed by circumstances, that nothing short of a war would settle matters, he is expected to set himself resolutely to work out his duty to this end. Or perhaps it would be that war has already actually been

declared; under such circumstances, there is no possible chance of the Imperial Government consenting to an immediate conference for the restoration of peace. It behoves, therefore, that our Viceroys, Governors, and Commanders-in-chief throughout the whole Empire, unite forces and act together without distinction, or particularising of jurisdictions, so as to present a combined front to the enemy, exhorting and encouraging their officers and soldiers in person, to fight for the preservation of their homes and native soil from the encroaching footsteps of the foreign aggressor. Never should the word 'Peace' fall from the mouths of our high officials, nor should they even allow it to rest for a moment within their breasts. With such a country as ours, with her vast area, stretching out several tens of thousands of '*li*,' her immense natural resources, and her hundreds of millions of inhabitants, if only each and all of you would prove his loyalty to his Emperor and love of country, what, indeed, is there to fear from any invader? Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves from the ruthless hands of the invader. Let these our words be made known to each and all within our dominion."

The *animus* behind such a document is as patent as is its unscrupulous language. It is most noteworthy, too, that seizure of territory is practically

the only grievance named, the missionary and trader not being hinted at.

Not less inflammatory was the next edict, issued in December. It directed all the Viceroys to energetically prepare for war against the foreigners, who "like tigers were devouring the land." This, again, was followed by a circular from the Chinese Foreign Office, to Viceroys and Governors, in which occurs the following passage:—

"This Office has received the special commands of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress-Dowager, and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, to grant you full power and liberty to resist by force of arms all aggressions upon your several jurisdictions, proclaiming a state of war if necessary, without first asking for instructions from Peking; for this loss of time may be fatal to your security, and enable the enemy to make good his footing against your forces. Finally, your Excellency will be responsible for any repetition of indecision, or too great trustfulness in the declaration of an encroaching enemy, such as happened, for instance, to General Chang kao-yuan in Shantung."

Could language be more mischief-making? And note again, it is the political action of seizing territory that is the source of grievance in the past, and fear for the future.

[1] "The allusion to General Chang, who, it may be remembered, was the officer in command of the

[1] *North China Herald*, August 15, 1900.

Tsing-tao forts when the German fleet seized Kiao-chou Bay, suffices to show the incendiary character of the decrees. That they were seriously meant, and that they meant even more than they said, was speedily made apparent by the despatch of Imperial officers to the maritime and Yang-tze provinces; to report on the measures taken for defence by the high provincial authorities, and to ascertain what arms and ammunition they still required to enable them to carry out their instructions."

"The circulation of these decrees, and the interpretations placed on them by the *literati* who read them out at street corners, sent a wave of patriotic excitement throughout the country. That the people regarded them as an incentive to defiance, rather than as an encouragement to legitimate defence, was shown by the greater development which the Boxer movement immediately took. Towards the end of the year 1899 the Boxers became practically uncontrolled, and carried on their anti-foreign propaganda into one province after another with a connivance on the part of the authorities which was scarcely disguised." The last day of the year saw the cold-blooded murder of their first foreign victim —Mr. Brooks, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Chapter V

FROM THE SECOND *COUP D'ÉTAT* TO ANARCHY IN PEKING

EVER since the *coup d'état* of September, 1898, when the Emperor had to deliver up his own seal to the Empress-Dowager, the various edicts that have been issued in his name were in reality the work of the Empress and her gang. The Emperor, true to reform, was a constant thorn in the side of the reactionary party; not a few of them suggested his being done away with by poison, but, as if guarded by a special providence, the Empress would not permit this. However, his position as Emperor was so far a menace to her retention of supreme power, that she determined to depose him, and choose out a baby sovereign from among the Imperial clan. That she could do as she liked with the people of China she fully believed, but she thought it politic to sound the representatives of foreign governments before committing herself. It so happened that just at that time the country which she feared would be most opposed to the deposition of the Emperor—Great Britain—was entangled with the war in South Africa. The news of the terrible

reverses in December—Magersfontein, Stormberg, Colenso—had reached the Imperial palace, and had not a little to do with shaping events there. "What!" they said, "can a few tens of thousands of farmers, armed with good rifles and artillery, keep such a world-power as Great Britain at bay? What should not China be able to do with as many hundreds of millions of people as they had tens of thousands?"

[1] The advisers of the Empress-Dowager, however, took care to arrange matters satisfactorily with the Governments of France and Russia, who signified that they would do nothing to oppose the election of a new Emperor. "When the Empress-Dowager was informed by Prince Ch'ing of the success of his negotiations, she stamped her foot on the ground and cried, 'Good! Great Britain, then, can do nothing against us.' To this Prince Ch'ing replied in a contemptuous tone, 'The fools! What if they do try to interfere? We are not afraid; we are now well prepared for every eventuality. What can they do just now, any way? Nothing! Your Majesty must know that Great Britain is nowhere now!' 'Then,' said the Empress-Dowager, 'that, of course, settles it,' and the deposition accordingly took place."

This second *coup d'état* was in January, 1900.

The child which the Empress-Dowager had selected to put on the throne, in place of the lawful

[1] *North China Herald*, January 30, 1900.

Emperor, was a little boy of some four or five years of age, Pu-chun by name. His father was Prince Tuan, the notorious leader of the Boxers, whose father, the fifth son of the old Emperor, Tao-Kuang, had been dismissed from the Imperial clan for disgraceful conduct. Not only did the Empress-Dowager want to depose the lawful Emperor, she would also have the twenty-six years of his legal reign ignored, and counted to have been an interregnum! But the shrewd woman had miscalculated. Telegrams and protests from Chinese and Manchus rained in upon her from all sides. Seeing that she had raised a storm that could not be weathered, she changed front, and avowed that she had never wanted to depose the Emperor, but only to provide an heir for the succession, seeing that Kuang-hsü was himself without male issue! Her action was deeply resented —the disgraceful treatment of the popular young Emperor at her hands brought odium upon her. It was necessary she should find a scapegoat, the popular fury must be diverted; let it fall on the heads of the Christians!

To quote the words of Dr. Morrison, in his masterly account of the siege of the Peking Legations, published in *The Times* of October 13th and 15th, 1900:—

"The Boxer Society, being anti-Christian and anti-foreign, was pampered as patriotic in its aims, and loyal in its constitution. Besides, its appearance in the metropolitan province opportunely coincided

with a state of unrest that had become alarming. There was famine in the land, no rain had fallen. The winter wheat had failed, the spring wheat could not be sown, and 95 per cent. of the land was untilled. The price of grain had risen, and there was widespread misery and discontent. The feeling arose that these misfortunes were attributable to the enmity of high heaven, offended by the usurpation of the Empress-Dowager, and the deposition from all real power of the Son of Heaven, the rightful Emperor. At this juncture the society entered the province. Its propaganda spread like wildfire. 'It is the foreigners who are eating the country. It is the foreign religion which has called down upon China the wrath of heaven. It is the cursed foreign railways and telegraphs which have diverted the good influence from on high.' Resentment against the Empress-Dowager was turned into wrath against the foreigner and fury against his religion. Thus the wily woman diverted from herself the popular clamour. She encouraged the growth of the Boxer train bands, seeing in them possible means of protection for her dynasty, and she fanned the wrath against the Christians by cunningly devised edicts, comparing Boxers with Christians, to the disadvantage of the latter. Grave insinuations against the Christians grew into open attacks, culminating in an Imperial decree ordaining their extermination."

During the early months of 1900 the Boxer movement developed apace. Princes of the blood and

the highest Ministers of State were in league with their leaders. To quote Dr. Morrison again :—

"In April the Boxers were everywhere in evidence. Boys were being drilled, and were being armed with knives and swords. Knives had already risen to double their usual value, and cutlers were reaping a harvest. Anti-foreign literature was being sold in the streets, Christian servants were being warned that they were 'doomed men.' Yet those who were not missionaries regarded the movement with contempt."

"In May the drought continued and the excitement grew. It was reported that 8,000,000 men were to descend from heaven and exterminate the foreigners. Then rain would come. Christians had offended the gods by following the devil's religion, and Heaven's wrath had been incurred, no rain had been sent, and thousands were starving. To inflame the ignorant still more against the foreigner, it was reported that foreigners were poisoning the wells. Then the crusade began in the southern part of the province against the native Christians. They were to be first attacked, and when they had been exterminated the white men were to be ended. Heartrending stories came from the province of murders of native Christians, of the pillaging and burning of Christian property."

Meanwhile, the soldiery had openly gone over to the Boxers, "the anti-foreign rabble of General Tung-fuh-hsiang openly fraternized with them, being

addressed by them in affectionate terms as 'blood brothers.' Foreigners, who had friends among the Chinese, received private warning to leave Peking: their lives were in danger. Gardeners and washermen went into hiding. Teachers and servants ran away into the country. It was becoming unsafe for the Chinese to work for the foreigner."

On the 28th of May, the destruction of the railway between Peking and Paoting-Fu began. And on the next day the French engineers were rescued —a party consisting of thirteen men, nine women, and seven children—by the great bravery of M. and Madame Chamot, who, with four or five others, went out of Peking some fifteen miles, and brought them back the same day.

"This prompt and daring rescue," says Dr. Morrison, "was one of the best incidents of the siege."

"Peking was becoming more excited day by day. Foreigners were assailed with stones by Imperial soldiers 'sent to protect foreigners.' The foreign guards were sent for. On the last day of May they arrived, to the number of 340 men."

In the meantime, a party of thirty, trying to escape by river from Paoting to Tientsin, were waylaid, several of them murdered: the others escaped only by continual fighting for their lives, getting to Tientsin more dead than alive. June 2nd brought the shocking news that two more members of the S.P.G. had been brutally murdered. "Mr. Robinson had been first killed, but Mr. Norman

had succeeded in fleeing for refuge to the residence of the magistrate, and by him was given up to the fury of the mob and done to death."

On the 6th of June an edict was issued. It caused "profound indignation." The last words were, "Christians and Boxers alike are one and all the little children of the Throne, and we regard them with an equal love, which in no way discriminates between the Boxer and the Christian!" And this in spite of wholesale massacre, and fiendish cruelties perpetrated by Boxers on Christians, under the direct orders of the very scoundrels who made out this proclamation!

"In the country disaffection spread to the districts east of Peking, and the position of the American missionaries at Tung-Chou became one of great danger. They asked for an escort, but Mr. Conger felt himself compelled to decline one, on the ground that he did not venture to send the same body of men that he could spare from the Legation through so dangerous a district. What soldiers could not be sent to do, one fearless American missionary succeeded in doing. Late in the evening of June 7th, the Rev. W. S. Ament, of the American Board Mission, left Peking in a cart, and with twenty other carts journeyed fourteen miles to Tung-Chou, through a country palpitating with excitement. It was an act of courage and devotion that seemed to us who knew the country a deed of heroism. He brought safely back with him to

Peking the whole missionary body then in Tung-Chou—five men, including Dr. Arthur Smith, the gifted author of *Chinese Characteristics*, eleven ladies, and seven children, together with their Christian servants."

Another magnificent act of bravery was the rescue of Father d'Addosie, his two colleagues, a French brother, five sisters of charity, and some twenty native nuns from the south cathedral. The rescuers were M. Fliche of the French Legation, accompanied by M. Chamot and his heroic wife.

On the 10th, the Boxers had their "first public official recognition," in Prince Tuan being appointed head of the Chinese Foreign Office. That same day Admiral Seymour started from Tientsin, with 1,800 marines and bluejackets of various nationalities, for the rescue of the Legations.

The 11th of June saw the first bloodshedding of a foreigner in Peking.

"On that day, Sugiyama,[1] the Japanese Chancellor, attempted to leave Peking by the Yungting gate, in order to meet Admiral Seymour's relief force, which was known to be on its way to the capital from Tientsin, and which was apparently expected to reach Peking that day. When he arrived at the Yungting gate, he was accosted by a number of Tung-fuh-hsiang's men, who were guarding it. Prince Tuan had that day given secret orders that no foreigner was to be allowed

[1] *North China Herald*, August 8, 1900.

either to leave the city or enter it. He was therefore stopped, and asked who he was. Sugiyama told them that he was a member of the Japanese Legation. 'Are you the Japanese minister?' 'No, I am only a Chancellor of the Legation.' 'Then what right have you, a petty officer like that, to ride in such a high official's cart?' So they pulled him out of his cart, and began to mob the unlucky Chancellor. Sugiyama then demanded to be brought before General Tung-fuh-hsiang. 'What! you to speak to our great general! Why, you are too insignificant to have such an honour!' At last, however, a red-buttoned Kansuh officer appeared on the scene, to whom Sugiyama appealed for help. Instead of doing so, the ruffian merely ordered the Japanese Chancellor's head to be struck off, as a sacrifice to their war banner, and stuck near the gate, 'for trying to break out of Peking.' Tung-fuh-hsiang was publicly congratulated next day by Prince Tuan for this dastardly murder."

The 12th, 13th, and 14th, were terrible days of massacre. The city resounded with the cries of the Boxers, "Kill the foreigner!" and the shrieks and groans of Christians being murdered. Thousands were put to cruel death in the city. Millions of pounds of property were ruthlessly destroyed by fire. "During the awful nights of the 13th and 14th, Duke Lan, the brother of Prince Tuan, and Chao-shu-chiao, of the Foreign Office, had followed round in their carts to gloat over the spectacle.

Yet the Manchu government were afterwards to describe this massacre, done under official supervision under the very walls of the Imperial palace, as the handiwork of local banditti."

On the 13th, the Boxers attacked the Austrian Legation and the Methodist Episcopal compound. They were dispersed at both places, at the latter by a bayonet charge of marines. Meanwhile, in the Imperial palace, counsels of madmen were the only counsels that gained a hearing. The Empress decided to convene a General Council in the Imperial palace, for discussing and deciding on the line of action to be pursued. It will be handed down to all time as the most iniquitous Council that has ever disgraced a country laying claim to civilization. It was held on the 16th of June.

Chapter VI

THE GRAND COUNCIL IN THE PALACE

THE following graphic account of this Council was given by a Peking official who was himself an eye-witness of what he relates. The account was copied from the *North China Herald* of August 8, 1900, into the *Standard* and other papers. It is too interesting not to be reproduced here :—

"On June 16 the Empress-Dowager suddenly issued a decree summoning all the Manchu princes, dukes, nobles, and high (Chinese and Manchu) officials of the Six Boards and Nine Ministries to be present at a Grand Council to be held at once in the palace. The suspicious part of this was that, when all had gathered at the palace, those who were Manchus were first called by the Empress-Dowager to a secret audience, while all of Chinese descent were left in the waiting-room. After the Manchus had ended their secret Council, and had come back to the waiting-room, they were again called back—this time with those of Chinese descent—into the Empress-Dowager's Council-room. When all had prostrated themselves before

the Empress-Dowager and Emperor, they waited for her to speak first.

"She said: 'The foreign Powers have browbeaten and persecuted us in such a manner that we cannot endure this any longer. We must, therefore, combine to fight all foreigners to the last, to save our "face" in the eyes of the world. All our Manchu princes, dukes and nobles, and ministers, high and low, are unanimous in this determination for war to the knife, and I approve of their patriotic choice. I therefore give you all this announcement, and expect all to do their duty to their country.'

"Upon this Hsü Ching-ch'êng (Chinese), ex-Minister to Russia, President of the Manchurian Railway, etc., knelt forward before the Empress-Dowager, and begged her to reconsider her decision, as there were many things to be considered before such a feat as fighting all the foreign Powers could possibly be thought of. Hereupon K'ang-yi sharply interrupted: 'You are mistaken. This will not be like our former wars with foreign countries. We have now the Boxers with us. They are invulnerable to bullet or sword, and we will simply walk over the enemy this time!'

"Yüan-ch'ang (Chinese), a former Taotai of Wuhu, and now a Minister of the Foreign Office, then said: 'Your Majesty, I myself was an eye-witness of the prowess of these Boxers after attacking the Foreigners, for living myself near by,

I went out in plain clothes to see their late battle-field. I saw the whole place filled with the bodies of dead Boxers—chiefs and head men too! With my own eyes I saw that every one of them had a bullet or two in their breasts or backs. That, Your Majesty, does not prove K'ang-yi's boast of the Boxers being invulnerable to bullets!' The Empress-Dowager: 'You must be mistaken. The bodies you saw must have been those of local outlaws. It is impossible that they were Boxers.' This closed Yüan-ch'ang's mouth, who dared not go further in contradiction of his mistress. Then Tsêng Kuang-lan (Chinese), Marquess Tsêng (son of the late Minister to Great Britain), himself brought up and educated in England, went forward and knelt before the Empress-Dowager, saying: 'I beg Your Majesty to reconsider your decision. If we must fight, we ought not to fight in such an indiscriminate manner. How can we fight successfully the whole world? We should choose our enemies. We have also a number of countries who have always been friendly with us, and against whom we have not the least complaint. Are we to fight them also? Above all, I pray Your Majesty to protect the Legations. These must be our first care and duty, whatever we may afterwards do.' Others of the Chinese party also spoke in the same strain. They saw all the Manchus present but one (Na Tung, Minister of the Foreign Office) were determined on war, and looking daggers at the speakers of the Chinese party,

and destruction of the country imminent. His Majesty was going on to say something more, but seemed to pull himself suddenly up, for, instead of listening to His Majesty, as Court etiquette required, the Empress-Dowager openly affronted the Emperor by ignoring his words and turning her back on His Majesty. This was the last stroke on the Chinese party, whose words were simply drowned in the uproar of the Manchus, who unanimously shouted for war to the knife, and who looked with deep hate on their Chinese colleagues, whom they now considered as enemies and traitors to their cause.

"This turn of affairs prevented the Chinese party from resuming their peace arguments with the Empress-Dowager for some time. Their aim was to get her to issue a decree for the dispersal first, and, if opposed, the suppression of the whole Boxer body in the country. Without military power themselves, their only hope lay in Yuan Shih-Kai, Governor of Shantung, and General Nieh, the only Chinese Commandants of corps who would be able to obey the Empress-Dowager's Decree, and enable the Chinese party to push their policy of destroying the Boxers, overawe the turbulent Manchus, and restore peace to the country; but Prince Tuan and K'ang-yi checkmated all the moves of the Chinese party, and matters looked very black that day. There was no more discipline observed in the city after that day amongst the

crowds of armed Boxers, Kansu troops, and the Manchu soldiers of Yung-lu's headquarters command, the Middle Corps of the Wuwei Army, or the 'Grand Army of the North.' All was confusion from that date.

"The Manchu party presented themselves at the palace on the 21st of June, the day after the murder of the German Minister, and got the Empress-Dowager to issue a decree to Yung-lu, as Generalissimo of the Grand Army of the North, commanding him to bring in his army into Peking and formally attack the Legations, destroy them, and then, leaving Peking for Tien-tsin, to destroy the foreigners there, and so on until all were driven into the sea (!) Just as the Empress-Dowager was about to give her consent to the writing of such a decree the Emperor interposed, and, prostrating himself before her, and in a voice broken with emotion and despair, besought her to pause before sending Government troops to attack the Legations, thereby formally setting her seal of approval on what had gone on before against the foreign Powers, plunging the whole Empire into war, and putting matters beyond recall.

"'If I, alone,' cried His Majesty in despairing accents, 'were to suffer and die as a consequence of what you have done and intend by-and-by to do, gladly would I die the death in atonement for the catastrophe you design for China; but I beseech Your Imperial Majesty, the Empress-Dowager, to

pause before you destroy millions of my poor, unoffending subjects throughout the Empire. What have they, I ask Your Majesty, done to merit the calamity that will be in store for them by the fatal steps you and your counsellors intend to take? I beseech Your Majesty to stop before it becomes too late. I pray you to reconsider your decision before launching on a policy which will endanger the very foundations of the Empire which my forefathers handed down to me to nourish and to protect from harm. I would rather die ten thousand deaths than see all the sufferings that are in store for my myriads of unfortunate subjects.' Here His Majesty broke down utterly. His despairing words would have touched a heart of stone, but, alas! the Empress-Dowager merely cast a look of contempt on the Emperor, drew back her robe and looked away, utterly ignoring the prostrate Emperor, who, when saying his last words, had impulsively moved forward a step and clutched the hem of his Imperial Aunt's robe, the picture of helpless despair and impotence. It only required Prince Tuan, who stood near the throne with his Manchus, to address in a loud tone, and the Empress-Dowager to say, with a contemptuous shrug of the shoulders, 'What does His Majesty the Emperor know about such things, any way?' to break utterly the heart and opposition of the unfortunate Emperor. His Majesty at once rose and, weeping, left the Council Chamber.

"Prince Tuan, K'ang-yi, Ch'i Hsiu, and the other Manchu friends of the Boxers appeared to breathe more freely, for they had fears, when the Emperor was making his passionate appeal for his people, that the Empress-Dowager might have hesitated to order into Peking the Government troops of Yung-lu to attack their enemies in the Legations. The fatal decree was then speedily passed, no one amongst the Chinese party present daring after this to open his mouth in favour of staying proceedings. That same afternoon Yung-lu's advanced corps crowded into Peking, bringing their field and machine guns with them, and every one of them armed with the best modern magazine rifle."

"For his reform tendencies and anxiety to preserve peace with foreign nations, the Emperor has been accused by the Manchus of being a Christian, and a traitor to the traditions of his race."

It fared ill with the brave Chinese Hsü Ching-ch'êng and Yüan-ch'ang, that they took the stand they did that day against the Manchu war party. About a month after they were done to death without trial.[1] "The execution itself shows, that what we vaguely call the Government at Peking is really nothing but anarchy; the two unfortunate patriots were done to death on July 28th without the knowledge of any member of the Grand Council, except Prince Tuan and K'ang-yi." The Imperial decree

[1] *North China Herald*, August 8, 1900.

of July 29 speaks of their "evil reputation" and "traitorous ambition," and gives out that they were beheaded.

This is probably the truth. Though the correspondent of the *Standard*[1] gives as their crime that, in sending on the bloody edict agreed upon in the Grand Council to exterminate all foreigners, to the Yangtse Viceroys, Hsü and Yüan had, on their own initiative, altered "exterminate" to "protect." He adds: "They were sent for, and confessed that they could not, knowing the issues it involved, despatch such a decree to the Yangtse Viceroys, and so at the peril of their lives had so acted. They were sawn in half the same afternoon. This is the genial old lady who kissed Lady Macdonald and Mrs. Conger, and continually repeated, 'All one family, all one family!'"[2]

This last refers to the Empress-Dowager, after the first *coup d'état* of September, 1898, having invited the wives of the Ambassadors to the palace, when she treated them in the manner stated. It was a clever ruse to gain "face" after committing an unconstitutional act.

M. Pichon, the French Ambassador, has yet another story, that Hsü with one other were chiefly guilty of having bought a coffin for the German Minister, assassinated by the precise order of Tung fuh-hsiang. Yüan and two others were accused of

[1] October 16, 1900.

[2] *Standard*, November 10, 1900.

coolness in the attempts at massacre of which foreigners were the object!

And now as to the Councils and their outcome—the edict for the extermination of foreigners in China.

Note, firstly, the reason given by the Empress for the whole Manchu party having come to such a terrible decision—"the browbeating and persecution of China by the foreign Powers."

Secondly, what an example is given of the three banes of the Chinese Government—pride, ignorance, and superstition.

Thirdly, the depth of fanatical hatred revealed in such a decree.

The first and last points we will reserve to another chapter. As to the second, see first the *pride*, the arrogant pride, which could so blind the authorities of China, as to make them believe they could defy the whole civilized world. Think of the monumental *ignorance* involved, and then observe the *superstition* in the matter of the "invulnerable" Boxers. Li Hung Chang, in trying to make excuses for his mistress, pointedly brings this forward, "She had bad advisers, and believed the Boxers were invulnerable." As if to say, if they *had* been invulnerable, and as a consequence every foreigner in China had been massacred, she would have been justified in the course she took!

We are inclined not to accept the statement of the correspondent of the *Standard*, that the patriots

Hsü and Yüan in transmitting the edict to the Yangtse Viceroys, ordering the "extermination of all foreigners," altered the word "exterminate" to "protect." There are inherent improbabilities in the story. Moreover, we have the certain proof from missionaries in the far interior that the edict came to their provinces. In the case of far away Yün-nan, the bloody edict arrived, followed a fortnight later by an edict to protect them. This latter edict would come in useful for saving somebody's "face," after all the missionaries in that province had been murdered, and would also be a result of the Chinese forces being defeated by the Allies. Of course, in the case of some provinces, the Viceroys and Governors ignored the edict, when it came: but in the case of others, it was far different. This fact, however, must be recorded by the future historian: *That between June 20th and 25th, 1900, edicts were issued by the Central Authority of the Government of China, ordering the indiscriminate massacre and extermination of all foreigners in the country.* Ambassadors, merchants, missionaries, foreigners in Government employ, whether such as the Belgian railway engineers, or such as Sir Robert Hart, for forty years the faithful friend of China, who by his phenomenal powers of administration had created the Customs Service, bringing £5,000,000 yearly to her failing revenues—men, women, children, all were to be sacrificed, in one common hecatomb, on the altar of Manchu hatred.

However, let us dwell a little on a pleasanter side, and note the courageous and humane conduct of Tuan-fang, Acting-Governor of Shen-si province. Strangely enough he was a Manchu. It only shows there are Manchus and Manchus, and that too sweeping generalizations, as to the character of the Tartars, cannot be made. We are again indebted to the *North China Herald*, which publishes the following from its Hsi-an Fu correspondent—the city where Tuan-fang was resident, as being the capital of the province, and now, forsooth, the so-called capital of China. Let the three excellent propositions at the end of the quotation be well noted.

[1] "The interim Manchu Governor of Shen-si, Tuan-fang, has so protected the lives and property of some eighty foreigners that, humanly speaking, it is owing to his care that they are now alive.

"When the edicts of the 20th to the 25th of June, that gave Imperial sanction to the murder of foreigners, reached Hsi-an Fu, that humane Governor was so distressed that he wept in the presence of other high officials, and could neither eat nor sleep for some time. He immediately suppressed these drastic edicts, and issued stringent orders that at any cost and all hazard order was to be maintained.

"When the Boxers made a determined attempt to effect a rising, Governor Tuan sent his mounted bodyguard and seized and beheaded the ringleaders

[1] *North China Herald*, August, 1900.

of the 'Righteous-Harmony-Fists.' When huge placards were secretly posted, charging foreigners with the drought and distress in the province and calling upon patriotic volunteers to join in exterminating the foes of their peace and prosperity, the Governor, within a few hours, had these inflammatory posters torn down, and counter-proclamations took their place.

"When a number of men who were professedly praying for rain assembled to ruin the property and possibly take the life of a Swedish missionary, the Governor had the premises guarded by a cordon of cavalry that galloped to the place.

"When several parties of missionaries were leaving for Hankow he voluntarily telegraphed to the Viceroy Chang to meet and protect the travellers. He further sent his own bodyguard to escort the missionaries. As their route passed through the northwest of Honan, he commanded the Shen-si escort not to leave the missionaries until they were met by the escort from Chang Chïh-tung.

"The vigilance and humanity of this energetic and enlightened Manchu Governor ought to be publicly known, and I hope may, in some way, be hereafter officially acknowledged.

"The public spirit and prompt action of men like the Viceroys Chang and Liu, and Governor Tuan demonstrate, it seems to me, the following propositions :—

"1. That the high officials are not only legally and

technically according to Chinese law, but really and morally responsible for the lawlessness and massacre that have taken place in various provinces.

"2. That it is not the creation of other and different authorities, but the guaranteed exercise of those already in existence, that is needed for the maintenance of law and order.

"3. That whenever and wherever the provincial authorities exercise their authority in the cause of law and order, serious rioting and massacre become practically impossible."

May the hope expressed "that the humanity of this enlightened Manchu Governor may be publicly known, and officially acknowledged" be fulfilled indeed! If, by any means, he may emerge from the hands of the "brigands" now at Hsi-an Fu, with his head on his shoulders!

Chapter VII

THE POWER OF DARKNESS

THE story of Councils in the last chapter ranges between June 16th and June 21st. There were, however, one or two deeply important events which took place between those dates and a few days after the latter date.

The Taku Forts were bombarded and taken on the 17th of June. It was soon known in Peking, and goaded the Manchus there to fresh acts of madness. The policy of "war to the knife with the foreigner" had been already declared in the Grand Council, held on the 16th—the day previous. Acting on a God-given judgment, the admirals had decided matters were so suspicious, they must act, and secure their "base." Had they not done so, what foreigner then in Peking and Tientsin would now be in the land of the living?

On the 20th of June occurred the planned murder of Baron von Ketteler, German Ambassador, by an Imperial officer. Here we quote Dr. Morrison.

"Mr. Cordes, Secretary to the German Legation, who accompanied Baron von Ketteler, was at the same time grievously wounded, but escaped as if

by miracle." Mr. Cordes after made these statements to Dr. Morrison.

"I was sent to the Chinese Foreign Office by Baron von Ketteler on the 19th of June, to get Tung-fuh-hsiang's Kansu troops removed from their unpleasant proximity. The Secretary told me there had been a great change in the position. The foreign admirals had taken the Taku Forts, and it would be very hard to keep the Chinese troops in hand. At five o'clock the same day the ultimatum of the Chinese Foreign Office was sent to the ministers, giving them twenty-four hours to leave Peking. Hoping that China would still be amenable to reason, Baron von Ketteler sent a note, asking for an interview with the princes and ministers of the Foreign Office at 9 a.m. next day. On the morning of the 20th, no word having come from the Foreign Office, Baron von Ketteler and I set out in two chairs. After passing the Arch of Honour, I saw a sight that made my heart stand still. A banner soldier, apparently a Manchu, in full uniform, with a mandarin's hat with a button and blue feather, stepped forward, presented his rifle within a yard of the chair window, and fired. I shouted 'Halt!' The chairs were thrown down. I sprang to my feet. A shot struck me in the lower part of the body. Dripping with blood I dragged myself along, often down crowded streets, filled with Chinese, who witnessed my struggle without pity, and without even replying to my

question as to the direction. I overheard one man remark 'A foreigner who has got his deserts!' Then in a quiet road a pedlar gave me the direction, and in half an hour after the murder of my minister I reached the American Mission, and fell fainting at the entrance."

Mr. Cordes, in conclusion, said, "I affirm that the assassination of the German minister was a deliberately planned, premeditated murder, done in obedience to the orders of high Government officials, by an Imperial bannerman."

"The Government sent an impudent despatch to the German Legation, to the effect that two Germans had been proceeding in chairs; at the mouth of the street leading to the Foreign Office, one of them had fired upon the crowd. The Chinese had retaliated, and he had been killed!

"Weeks passed before the body was recovered, and it was not until July 18th that any official reference was made to the murder.

"The ministers were invited to remain in Peking. At 4 p.m.—the very hour given in the ultimatum for them to leave their Legations—precisely to the minute, by preconcerted signal, the Chinese opened fire upon the Austrian and French outposts. A French marine fell, shot dead through the forehead. An Austrian was wounded. The siege had begun."

Meanwhile, Tientsin had been "fighting for its life" for days. James Watt, of Tientsin, accompanied by a few Cossacks, by a daring night ride to

Taku, through country infested with the enemy—a deed of valour that was the salvation of thousands—was able to give information as to affairs in Tientsin. Reinforcements were hurried forward. Tientsin was relieved on the 24th.

Admiral Seymour, who had, in his heroic attempt to reach the Legations, lost 300 men killed and wounded out of 1,800, was relieved by the Russians not far from Tientsin on the 26th.

By this time the edict for the extermination of foreigners had been flashed by the electric wire into the capitals of all the eighteen provinces. Its reception in one of these we have already noticed. There was one province in particular whose Governor had a heart that was the very soil for such diabolical seed. The province was Shan-si, the Governor Yü-hsien. We can picture the satanic smile that passed over his face as the fateful document was handed to him. Doubtless some such thoughts as these passed through his mind. "I have often wanted to slay every foreigner within my grasp, but have never till now had Imperial commands to do so." He did not let the grass grow under his feet. The edict was forwarded by horse-courier, in some cases by telegraph, to every city of the first, second, and third order in the province. Hitherto it had been the most friendly of provinces; no foreigner had ever been injured there; within a few weeks over one hundred missionaries and many

children had been massacred. Others, escaping with their lives, had to submit to barbarities, to which death would have been a trifle. Seldom has there been a more terrible example of the amount of harm that may be done by one bad man in a place of power.

We reserve the story of the massacres in Shan-si to another chapter — here we subjoin an article entitled "One Chinese Massacre," by Mrs. Archibald Little, author of *Intimate China*, and so well known for her love of the Chinese people, and her philanthropic efforts to deliver Chinese women and children from the cruel and revolting custom of footbinding. The measure advocated at the end of the letter, to raze the walls of Peking to the ground, is the opinion of one whose word is at least entitled to attention; it is a question, however, whether it would be feasible, or helpful.

"A massacre in some part of China of which one has never heard before, whose name one cannot remember when one has heard it, and of people one does not know! How little effect it produces upon the mind! What, nine killed! Oh, how shocking! But think of the thousands killed in South Africa! And people drink their morning coffee unmoved.

"They probably drank it too that July morning in K'uchowfu. There was trouble in the city, as there was in many Chinese cities in July, 1900, and the last letter from one of the ladies—a cheery, chatty letter—expressed some anxiety about their spoons.

Where should they be hidden in case of an attack? Yet she thought she knew a place! There were two ladies living together, one elder and one young —the elder, English, Miss Sherwood; the young girl, American, Miss Manchester. It was the elder lady who was troubled about the spoons. Close beside them lived Mr. and Mrs. Thompson and their two youngest children. The 21st of July came—I remember that day, because in our parts also there was said to be trouble, and I was carried into the city in an open sedan chair, thinking it would do the people good to see an English lady going about as usual, and not looking at all afraid! In K'u-chowfu City there came a little gathering of people from afar—Vegetarians, the same sect that caused the Kucheng massacre. They came up to the house, and Mr. Thompson, standing out on the verandah, tried to reason with them, but in vain, till at last he felt obliged to take his wife and children to the Taotai's official residence for protection; whilst the two ladies took refuge in the house of some kindly, though heathen, Chinese near by until they too could be fetched to the Taotai's. And the sun shone, while the people plundered the two European houses.

"Then, to the horror of the suppliants, the Taotai sent out word he could do nothing. He had few soldiers—he knew the state of excitement in which the people were—especially these strangers who had come into the city, and he refused to see the

European. Accounts differ, of course, but one story has it that, for the space of one hour, the unhappy husband and wife waited in the entry court of the Taotai's Yamen, afraid to go out, unable to gain an entrance. What were the thoughts that passed through their hearts, what words passed between the husband and wife—the father and mother—of their duty at that hour of suspense? The little children probably wondered and got tired. They had not long to wait, for at last, as in despair, Mr. Thompson battered at the door. Again the answer, 'The Great Man refuses to see you,' and a sign from behind to the populace of cutting off a head, signifying you may do what you like with him. A blow from behind, a shower of bricks! But this Englishman, who had for ten years gone in and out among them doing good to all, was really killed by those cruel three-pronged forks carried in official processions, and which are commonly supposed to be used to catch and rend the clothes of thieves. They are barbarous instruments. Best not to particularise how the deed was done. The under-Prefect, a friend of the foreigners, was killed too. The wife and children are believed by some to have been beheaded, the baby in its mother's arms. That we know. 'You won't hurt my baby,' Mrs. Thompson pleaded. The reply was a blow. Then the corpses were dragged along the street, and thrown into the compound of the Roman Catholic priest, while, excited by murder, the crowd rushed

on to kill any one whom it struck their fancy to kill. All those killed were eventually thrown into the same compound. As the day wore on people began to wonder where were the other Europeans. Can we fancy how the two ladies had passed the long, hot hours praying and trembling, or in exaltation lifted by faith above the sufferings of this present time? Now an order was put forth: any one harbouring a European was to be put to death exactly the same as a European. And the people with whom they had taken refuge told them they could protect them no longer. Yet they were allowed to remain in safety till nightfall. Then in the darkness they stole out into the street, one walking in front of the other, going along very stilly, both keeping close to the wall. Where did they mean to go? What hope had they? Nothing of this shall we ever know; but we can see the two trembling figures with their fluttering clothes trying to pass unnoticed, almost effaced against the dark wall background. The people in the street began to wonder—'Who are these going there?—without a lantern? Who can it be?—Ai—e! the Europeans!" And at once a crowd collected, and every one set upon them.

"Two more corpses added to the pile! Next morning two boats became visible approaching the city. Every one was crying out, the city was in a frantic state of excitement. A lady put her head a little out of the window of the first boat to see what

had hidden with him in a fold among the mountains. But there was no shade and no water, and though he went down at night and fetched food, after five days he took the children back to his house, and with the help of the Chinese Christians barricaded it, and they set to work to defend themselves, stoutly refusing to take refuge in the Taotai's Yamen, as they were invited to do, being warned by the fate of the poor Protestants. After a fortnight, 2,500 soldiers arrived, then the Taotai felt courage to cope with the disorder, and he sent word to the priest to be ready next day, and he would send him an armed guard and gunboat to convey him to the capital of the province.

"The priest objected at first, but the Taotai insisted it was the only way. So he did the best he could for the children, dispersing them among the various families of his acquaintance. And next day came men with trumpets, going in front, and soldiers and an official with two sedan chairs. For they had to be carried about six miles to reach the gunboats. The priest disguised himself so as to look as unlike a priest and an European as he could, with huge straw hat, and short country trousers, but the mandarin only said—'Are you not frightened? I am very frightened. Sit well back in your chair.' The Basque priest says he took good care to do that, and also held a fan before his face; yet before he got into his gunboat, with soldiers in boats before and behind, he more than once heard people say,

ings. And, again, some one crept through a hole in the wall to try to cover the poor stripped bodies of the foreigners. One of the thick Chinese mosquito curtains wrapped round them was at least a winding-sheet.

"Meanwhile, how did the Lazarist father escape who tells the tale? And here is shown what good people these were, that when I went to see the sister of St. Vincent and ask how their Order had fared, it was over the cruel death of these nine Protestants the Sister Superior broke down and wept. "They were such good people," she said. 'There may be a difference—but these people were real saints.' Then she wrung her hands. And when I went to ask the Lazarist fathers, they too told me of this massacre, weeping, and relating all that Mr. Thompson had done for them. It seems he had but lately saved the life of a priest who was sick, doctored him, nursed him, sent him nourishing food from his own house, invited him to stay there, and in every way, as the still sick man said with tears, been like a father to him. He himself had come away on account of his health, and a strong Basque priest had taken his place. The Basque then told me how he had happily been at an outlying country station when he heard of the attack upon their saintly Protestants. He had fled into the mountains. He could not flee away altogether, for he had a school of a hundred and twenty little girls. And, as I understood, all the little girls

And how do the armies of Europe propose to teach it?

"Not by withdrawing from Pekin before the walls are razed to the ground, surely. Let the Imperial palace continue to stand for a sight for future generations, for a monument to our unburied dead. But let Pekin be made a scorn among the cities of China, a thing for the finger of derision to be pointed at—a city without walls! There is nothing Chinese treat with more contempt than a wall-less city. Dynamite can do so much! The best thing would be to make the people of Pekin themselves destroy their walls, paid to do so by their own Mandarins—but superintended by foreign soldiery.

"Owing to one foreigner's escape we hear the details of the K'uchow massacre. But all probably have suffered in much the same fashion."

Chapter VIII

THE SHAN-SI MASSACRES

WHAT with a murderous decree coming from the Central Authority in Peking, and a man like Yü-hsien Governor of Shan-si, it is not surprising that the storm of persecution burst with uncontrolled fury over that fated province.

Rivers run into the ocean, for the most part, unnoticed; but, to the ocean of this world's misery, there are, at times, noticeable contributions which, like the waters of the Yang-tse and Yellow Rivers, colour the ocean far out to sea. The mind is almost paralysed in trying to estimate the aggregate suffering and wretchedness which have been the outcome of the "Boxer" movement. The anguish of fear and suspense, the pain of torture and cruel wounds, the life-long burden of mutilation, the desolation of bereavement, the horrors of enforced penury and consequent starvation, endured by hundreds of thousands of our fellow-beings, are terrible subjects for reflection.

The sufferings of the some 40,000 Christians who are computed to have been massacred will never be

known. Nor will the sufferings be known of untold numbers who were not Christians, both of those whose "guilt" consisted in having had dealings with foreigners (!), and also those who had had no connection with them. Concerning these last, their only "fault" lay in having the misfortune to live in districts where cruel anarchy, under the control of ruffians, was supreme.

We must confine ourselves mainly to the story of Shan-si massacres, though the massacres in Chïh-li must be touched on, as also the hair-breadth escapes from Shan-tung and Honan. Whenever we can we shall leave the sufferers to tell their own story, and in the case of those who are no more we will give the most reliable information we are in position to give.

In the nature of the case the victims were, nearly without exception, missionaries, that is, apart from those who suffered in Peking and Tientsin.

The missionaries in the three provinces of Shan-tung, Chïh-li and Honan have, speaking generally, all escaped with their lives. The marvellous nature of the escapes may be illustrated by a few instances of some of the perils they went through.

The missionaries of She-k'itien, Mr. and Mrs. Conway, Dr. Gershom Guinness, and Miss Watson, were for fifteen days in hiding, expecting every moment would be their last. The party left one night, when it was raining heavily, and were escorted—paying three men £35 for the escort—to

a small boat under cover of darkness, and in this way had to travel for days hidden under matting. When in hiding, a one-month-old baby had to be kept absolutely quiet by her mother, then physically weak ; at any rate, quietness was necessary in those seasons, when their lives were being hunted by men standing on the roof of the loft where they were hiding!

More wonderful still was the rescue, after three months' peril, of the following party. Subjoined is something of what they endured. It is taken from the *Standard* of October 29, 1900.

"Messrs. Green and Gregg, missionaries, and Mr. Green's family, who were rescued by the French at Pao-ting-fu, say that they left their post on the border of Shan-si when they heard the Boxers were approaching. The people threatened their lives, and they went to live in a temple. There they were for some time unmolested, but they again fled to escape the Boxers, and took refuge in a mountain cave. Their next refuge was a farmhouse. Here they lay concealed for some time, but were eventually discovered by a body of Boxers, who shot Mr. Green in the head, and threatened to burn the house. The party accordingly surrendered, and were taken to Cheng-ting-fu.

"Here the Mandarin directed that the missionary party should be sent to Tientsin. They were accordingly put on board a river boat with a guard, and travelled through that day. When

the boat was stopped, the guards put the party ashore, and left them.

"A fresh start was made for Tientsin, but again the Boxers captured the refugees, and took them to their camp. Thence they were taken to Sinan, being dragged by their hair part of the way, and for three miles carried suspended from poles by their arms and legs.

"At Sinan they were taken to the Yamên of the chief official, where Miss Gregg's head was laid on a stone block, and an official with an axe pretended to be about to behead her, when an order came from the Fanti of Pao-ting-fu to send the party there. They arrived at Pao-ting-fu on July 13, and have lived there with the Treasurer since."

The Rev. J. Goforth, of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, and his co-workers, went through such adventures as the following. It is his own account, taken from the *North China Herald* of August 1, 1900.

They got as far as the Yellow River in peace, where they met Mr. Jameson, of the Peking Syndicate. For a time they had the help of his escort, but after got separated. Here is his account of a start made from a hostile market town:—

"About two hours after arrival on the evening of the 7th, our innkeeper brought in a report that there were seventy armed men coming to take the inn and all we had. We barricaded the inn gates with carts and all sorts of things, and collected

stones, etc., for our defence inside the yard. All passed quietly that night.

"In the morning our carters refused to go on until we guaranteed to pay them for all their losses. This delayed our start until 8.30 a.m. Then the mayor of the town ordered us to go, saying he would send an armed escort down and see us thirty li from the place. He knew he was sending us into a trap and showed his duplicity very clearly. When we started the streets were crowded with people and the walls were swarming with them. Outside the south gate there were at least 10,000 spectators. Presently we saw two bands of several hundreds, armed with swords, spears, and guns, one lot standing in a body waiting for us to come to them, and the other was along the wall ready for a rear attack. There was nothing for it but to go on, our little band numbering eleven adults (five men), and five children. We had only three revolvers amongst us. The whole crowd came on us with a rush. They began pelting stones at our covered carts, but fortunately we had them lined and covered with rugs on account of the heat, and none of the missiles came through. Failing in this, they cut our animals across the back with swords, and when they were all tangled up we had to defend ourselves. I got nine wounds on my arms and hands, the only serious one being on the head at the back of the skull. That knocked me over for a while; I also got eight blows with clubs, one partly

Shan-si, had a terrible experience. They were literally "in deaths oft." Robbed of everything, with hardly decent clothing left to them, the people, at one time, sharpening the instruments before their eyes, with which they assured them they were going to despatch them, yet, notwithstanding, they were preserved. This was their experience in Shan-si. The next province, Honan, also had a pro-Boxer Governor.

"On arriving in Honan the common jail afforded a nightly lodging. The Chengchou magistrate drew his hand across the missionary's throat and cursed his stars that they had arrived too late to be killed; fresh orders had come to pass them on through the province as prisoners. At Sinyang-chou the official, Jao, supplied silver, clothes, food, and even luxuries, and in five days' time the Cooper party arrived and all went on into friendly Hupeh."

Mr. and Mrs. Glover's little boy and girl came out of the awful ordeal alive. At Hankow Mrs. Glover was delivered prematurely of a little one, who only survived ten days, to be followed not long after by the mother, worn out by sufferings that had been endured with Christian fortitude and unmurmuring patience.

The story of the sufferings of the Saunders-Cooper party is well known, having been published in *The Times* of September 29, 1900. In the forty-nine days of that awful journey, they had so much suffering crowded into their lives, that it is a wonder any

survived. Indeed, not a few succumbed. Treachery, starvation, thirst, nakedness, buffetings, cursings, stonings, beatings, crushing under a cart, plastering with mud, and even outrage—make a list, not behind the list of the sufferings of St. Paul. But the testimony of the brethren is, that there was not one word of murmur; on the contrary, these things were endured in the spirit of unfailing love and pity for their persecutors, and even joy that they were "counted worthy to suffer shame for His name." Miss Rice died in Shan-si; two of Mr. Saunders' children "from fatigue and want, and were buried in Honan"; while Mrs. Cooper and Miss Huston passed away in Hupeh; and just after reaching Hankow Mr. Cooper's little baby breathed its last, leaving his father stricken of wife and child.

The shocking story of the massacres of the Paoting fu missionaries, of whom the personal friendship of each one, with the exception of two recent arrivals, is a hallowed memory, must be told in these few awful sentences.

"Mr. Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Sincox, and their three children, Americans, were surprised by Boxers in their house. The building was set on fire and they were burned to death. Miss Morrow was stripped, dragged naked through the street, with her two breasts cut off, and then decapitated. Dr. and Mrs. Hodge and a woman guest were burned in their house. Miss Gould died from fright on being

dragged from her house. Mr. Pilkin was preaching when he was attacked, and shot while running to his house to get a gun. Mr. and Mrs. Bagnall and child fled to some Imperial troops for protection, but were turned over to the Boxers, who beheaded the child and speared the others to death."

Genius, beauty, learning, devotion, and heart qualities of the best were represented in that group of martyrs.

And now we must retrace our steps to Shan-si. Horrors thicken in doing so. Still the facts should be known; the following accounts, culled from the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, and the *North China Herald* of September 26, 1900, may be looked upon as substantially true.

"The recent indictment of the Governor of Shan-si for his constant abetting of the Boxer movements in Shan-tung while ruling that province, has now to be supplemented by an account of his fiendish atrocities in his new satrapy. No less a person than the grandson of Wang Wên-shao, a member of the Tsungli Yamên and the successor of Li Hung Chang in the Viceroyalty of Chïh-li, appeared at the British Legation a few days after the relief of Peking and formally accused Yü-hsien of having invited all the foreign missionaries at Taiyuanfu into his Yamên on pretence of sending them to the coast under official guard. Having thus secured them, he put them all to death, and then memorialised the Imperial Court in Peking for a reward for distinguished service.

Astounding and incredible as this statement appeared at the time, it has since then been fully confirmed.

"A native Christian teacher, a graduate of the North China College at Tungchou, who has been employed as a teacher in the Boys' School at Fenchoufu, Shan-si, arrived in Tientsin on Saturday evening the 1st of September, 1900, having escaped from the general massacre. He left Shan-si on the 23rd of August, and after many vicissitudes arrived here safely. He is a very intelligent and energetic young fellow of twenty-two, who within the past two years, under the instruction of a missionary lady, has learned to speak English with great fluency and precision, and is well qualified to give an accurate and detailed report in that language. His story is as follows :—

"As far as is known at present it was on the 23rd of June that the first murders were committed. This was at Hsiao-yi-hsien near P'ing-yao, of Miss Whitechurch and Miss Sewell. Their death was reported long since by telegraph. On the day mentioned three hundred Boxers broke into the Mission compound subsequent to the following incident. A few rough youths had attacked the front gate : the ladies sent to the district magistrate complaining, and asking for protection. The official came himself, and finding only the gate injured, reproved the informant and struck him with his hand. This gave notice to the crowds that they could

attack with impunity; the ladies at once began another appeal to the official, who replied that his underlings were intended to protect Chinese and not foreigners: thereupon a larger crowd entered the compound and attacked the two ladies. In their helplessness, they kneeled before the crowd and begged for mercy: their only answer was to be beaten on the head at intervals with clubs. Some of the crowd took glass bottles and with them beat the heads of their victims, breaking the bottles in doing so. The ladies lived one hour after the first attack. Their clothes were stripped off and their watches carried away. The official, on being informed of their death, sent over two boxes for coffins; these were placed in the newly-built baptistry in the courtyard. These details were learned from a messenger sent from the neighbouring American Board Mission at Fen-chou-fu.

"The next disaster in the order of time was upon the 29th of June at Shou-yang-hsien, seventy miles east of T'ai-yuan-fu. This is the Mission Station of 'Independent Workers,' under Mr. T. W. Pigott, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. There were here at the time Mr. and Mrs. Pigott, their son, Mr. Robinson (a tutor of this lad, recently arrived), Miss Duval (also a teacher), and two daughters of the Rev. E. R. Atwater, of Fen-chou-fu. These seven persons were driven from their homes to the mountains not far away. They soon returned to their houses, however, and were then arrested by the Dis-

trict Magistrate, and compelled to go to the capital T'ai-yuan-fu. *En route* they were chained with handcuffs and iron collars, and were not permitted to buy food. The distance is about seventy English miles. The soldiers would not sell them eggs, even at a dollar a piece. On the 10th of the Sixth Moon (6th July) they were taken; and, on arrival at the provincial capital, they were placed in separate rooms, Mrs. Pigott not being allowed to communicate with her husband. This news was brought to Taku by a photographer who fled, and was forwarded to Fen-chou-fu by letter. On the 3rd of the Sixth Moon (June 29), most of the foreign houses at T'ai-yuan-fu had been burned, as already reported by Mr. Saunders' party. The missionaries escaped to the house of Mr. Farthing, of the English Baptist Mission, with the exception of Miss Coombs, who was unable to do so owing to the hindrance of her native school girls. Hundreds of Boxers and rough people had crowded into the houses, but several of the missionaries managed to fight their way through and escape, the one lady being left behind unnoticed. During the rioting many fell and were trampled upon, two girls thus meeting their death.

"Miss Coombs pleaded with the soldiers, who were sharing in the loot and helping in the burning, to save her life: their reply was to seize her and throw her into the flames of the burning houses; later on, nothing but a pile of ashes was found in the place where she fell. The refugees must have remained

several days at the house of Mr. Farthing. On the 7th of July, the Governor sent for a complete list of the names of the foreigners. On the 9th of July, a Monday, all Protestant missionaries were ordered to go to the Governor's Yamên, and hopes were held out that they would all be sent to Tientsin under escort. Including the Shou-yang party from Mr. Farthing's house already mentioned, their total number was thirty-three. When they were all in the Yamên the doors were closed, and the wretched inmates must have realized in sickening despair that they had been trapped. They were not kept in suspense long. The Boxers were ordered to enter and slaughter them, the Governor's troops mounting guard while the ghastly deed was being done. No particulars are positively known about the massacre beyond the fact that the heads of all the victims were displayed outside the Yamên later in the day; but it is believed the work was done with swords, and it is probable that death released each promptly. On the same day forty native Christians were killed, and on the following day ten Catholic priests, it is presumed in the same place and manner."

Rumours have for some time been circulating, and evidence is now accumulative, that Yü Hsien set the example of the massacre in T'ai-yuan by murdering some of the missionaries with his own hand.

"An eye-witness—not a convert—in T'ai-yuan-fu writing to a relative in Shanghai," makes the

following statements (*N. C. H.*, October 17th, 1900):

"Yü Hsien was so anxious to be the first to wreak vengeance on his victims that he sent special orders after his Boxers to bring all their captives to T'ai-yuan-fu 'for trial' first, and not to harm them on the way. When the first batch of missionaries was brought to T'ai-yuan-fu, therefore, Yü Hsien ordered them to be brought straight into his Yamên and taken to an archery ground in the rear, and then placed standing at a distance of a few feet from each other. The sanguinary Governor then took off his outer official robe and necklace, mounted a horse ready saddled for him, and then taking a long sword from an orderly, cantered to the other end of the ground. As Yü Hsien turned his horse towards his victims, standing some 15 chang (about 200 feet) away, he started at a hard gallop towards them, swinging his long sword as he swept past them, carrying off four or five heads on the onrush. Then his horse baulked and would not go further, so Yü Hsien had to get off his horse, and the rest of these unhappy missionaries were then massacred by the Boxers and soldiers who were present. This was Yü Hsien's way of 'setting an example' to his myrmidons."

"The previous narrative then takes us to T'ai-ku on the 31st July (6th of Seventh Moon) when 300 or 400 Boxers wearing red turbans attacked the Mission there, first killing the preacher, Mr. Liu Fung-chi,

and Mr. Liu, his assistant. Messrs. Clapp, Williams and Davis, who had firearms, fired on the Boxers from the roofs of their houses, and for a time kept them at bay, the ladies of the Mission, Mrs. Clapp, Miss Bird and Miss Partridge, meanwhile taking refuge in one of the out-houses of the Mission compound. It is believed the missionaries killed two soldiers during the fight, but they were soon overpowered and all killed. The heads of the whole party, and it is believed the hearts of the three men, were taken to T'ai-yuan-fu. It is reported, but informant was not certain on the point, that one hundred native Christians, including sixty Catholics, were also massacred at this place.

"His last story of massacre brings us to August 15th and Yenchoufu where informant was stationed. There were at this station, when the trouble began, Mr. and Mrs. Price and little girl, Mr. and Mrs. Atwater and two girls, belonging to the American Board; Mr. and Mrs. Landgren and Miss Eldred, of the C.I.M. On the 15th August the party were ordered by the Prefect to leave the place, he promising to give them a guard of twenty soldiers as an escort to Tientsin. The District Magistrate had been friendly disposed towards them and had some days before appealed to the Prefect not to drive these people out, as they had never done anything but good in the place. The Prefect, who had recently been appointed by Yü on purpose to carry out his malevolent designs, replied that he had been

ordered to drive them out, and if the Magistrate did not do his duty he would himself drive the missionaries out with a whip. There was therefore no help for it but to go, and although the Magistrate again pleaded for a few days' delay, as Mrs. Atwater was about to be confined, he was overruled, and early on the 15th they started under an escort of twenty soldiers. Informant was of the party. When they had gone about twenty li he discovered that another band of soldiers were lying in wait ten li further on, and that the party were to be killed, and knowing he could not save them he managed to get away. He subsequently learnt that on meeting the other band of soldiers, the escort gave a signal and the little band of missionaries were hacked to pieces. He believes their death was cruel and lingering. About two weeks previously the officials had caught the medical student Li and given him 300 blows to force him to hand over two guns and two revolvers which the missionaries had, so the party were quite unarmed. This man was also given another 300 blows before he would give up the names of the native Christians in the district."

The bearer of these terrible tidings had with him a piece of blue cloth, on which is the name of Mr. C. W. Price with these words, " This man's story is reliable."

The above relates to massacres in Central and Southern Shan-si. It had been long feared that those in the North had shared the same fate.

into the future. It is quite an exploded theory to fancy modern diplomats are concerned with safe-guarding the future, and those who hug this vain imagination are old-fashioned and behind the times: or, are they even yet before their time, and may it possibly be, that in the near future ministers who cannot or will not think for themselves, may be compelled to heed the thinking done for them outside the narrow sphere so neatly bounded by red-tape? May it not be possible that the friends and relatives of some of those who have been carved up by Yü's orders—and even missionaries have wealthy and influential friends, as instance the old Irish family of Pigott; the family of Mrs. Pigott, as soon as they heard of the danger of their dear ones, wired offering £5,000 for their ransom—may demand to know why, when the British Government had it in their power to remove and even decapitate the Governor of Shan-tung, they stood by and allowed him to enter a still larger field for mischief?"

It is impossible not to contrast the beginning of the work in this province with its end, which, after all, will only be temporary. Seldom has a beginning so auspicious had an end so tragic! The work of Protestant missions began in the year 1878. Shan-si was visited with a famine the like of which for mortality has never been equalled in any land. We have had villages pointed out to us where out of 1,000 families only 100 were left; in many cases whole villages were blotted out. It was

reported that nine and a half to thirteen millions perished out of a population of about 20,000,000!

Foreigners, chiefly British and American, contributed about £100,000 to the famine fund;[1] "sixty-nine foreigners were engaged in the work of distribution, of whom four died in consequence of exposure and overwork. One of these, Mr. Whiting, was honoured by the Governor of Shan-si, with a public funeral in T'ai-yuan-fu, the provincial capital. The Chinese Plenipotentiary in London, Kuoh Sung-tao, gave utterance to the sincere sentiments of his Government in saying:

"The noble philanthropy which heard, in a far distant country, the cry of suffering and hastened to its assistance, is too signal a recognition of the common brotherhood of humanity ever to be forgotten, and is all the more worthy to be remembered because it was not a passing response to a generous emotion, but a continued effort, persevered in until, in sending the welcome rain, Heaven gave the assuring promise of returning plenty, and the sign that the brotherly succour was no longer required. Coming from Englishmen residing in all parts of the world, this spontaneous act of generosity made a deep impression on the Government and people of China, which cannot but have the effect of more closely cementing the friendly relations which now so happily exist between China and Great Britain. But the hands that gave, also assumed the arduous

[1] Williams' *Middle Kingdom*, p. 737.

duty of administering the relief; and here I would not forget to offer my grateful thanks and condolence to the families of those, and they are not a few, who nobly fell in distributing the fund."

And yet, to think that twenty-two years after this, over a hundred brave men and women should "nobly fall in distributing," not a fund to combat bodily hunger, but in distributing a pure Gospel to meet the spiritual famine, sound science to meet the mental famine, and the fruits of medical and surgical skill to alleviate the sufferings of that very same people! And how should they "fall"? What should be their posthumous honours? Heads in cages, hearts cut out and sent to a bloodthirsty Governor, bodies beaten, mutilated, violated, hacked and burned—this is the return for twenty-two years' patient and persistent love!

In that note of thanks the Chinese Ambassador spoke of the help given, "not" as being "a passing response to a generous emotion, but a continued effort." And do these proud Manchus think that, by instituting a reign of terror, missionaries and others will never set their feet again in Shan-si? When, in the dark days of December, the defeats and reverses at Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso spread their pall of gloom over Great Britain, did Great Britain retreat? The only answer of the nation was greater effort, and greater sacrifice on the part of the soldiers of the Queen. And shall God's soldiers face the disasters

of Shan-si in a different spirit? No! So sure as "God is love," and "love never faileth," the people of Shan-si, and the officials too, will yet have to learn that the desire for their salvation is not a "passing emotion," and that the "continued effort" of Christian charity will in due time live down and overcome their baseless suspicion, inhuman cruelty and unreasonable hatred.

Chapter IX

THE SIEGE OF PEKING

IN this chapter we shall avail ourselves almost entirely of Dr. Morrison's account. This first extract, however, is from the *North China Herald.*[1]

"On the morning of June 20th, when the Legations all moved into the British grounds, there were few who thought that the siege would last over a week or ten days. Consequently, many came bringing only a food supply for a few days, while some completely forgot to bring any. Wiser heads, however, worked all that afternoon with mules and carts, emptying the foreign stores of all their provisions, and carrying into the besieged quarters thousands of pounds of rice from near-by grain shops.

"In the Chinese mill near the Canal were found over five tons of Honan wheat. This mill, containing four grinding stones, was moved into the Legation, and every day an allowance of wheat was ground into coarse flour. By six o'clock in the evening, when the Chinese attack began with vigour, there had been carried into the Legation,

[1] *North China Herald,* August 3, 1900.

or within the lines of defence, enough food to last ten weeks. The grounds were well supplied with water, which for the most part was used unboiled, and up to the closing of the siege no case of fever had resulted from so drinking it. By this time Foreign Ministers and every one knew that our position was one of great danger. It was decided at once to begin a plan of fortifications, and the Rev. F. D. Gamewell, of the American Episcopal Mission, was placed in charge of the work. Night and day, for almost two months, he carried them on. In fact, when the Indian troops came into the south gate of the compound, Mr. Gamewell was in the north end with his fortifying crew.

"The morning of the 21st found an organization ready to begin work. Mr. Tewkesbury, of the American Board Mission, was made Chairman of the Committee for Public Comfort. This committee looked after the general well-being of those in the compound.

"Prof. Oliver, Mr. King and Prof. Russell were in charge of the food supply and giving out of stores. C. H. Fenn was made the miller. Mr. Hobart, of Tientsin, was in charge of the Chinese labour. Among the 3,000 native converts were hundreds of preachers, teachers, medical helpers and assistants; these men worked like common coolies. Mr. Hobart had them numbered and worked in companies of ten to thirty. Mr. Stelle and Mr. Galt were in charge of the labour registra-

tion and time-keeping. Dr. W. S. Ament was the overseer of confiscated goods. Mr. Verity, Dr. Ingram and Mr. Ewing were in charge of the native Christian quarters.

"The British Legation students and the young men in the Imperial Chinese Customs, Banks, etc., formed a Volunteer Guard to assist in the protection of the Legation. These men did most excellent service, and were brave to a man.

"Drs. Dudgeon and John Inglis formed a Sanitary Committee to look after the general health of the compound. The siege was fortunate in having a number of trained nurses, who, with the many female physicians, gave the sick excellent care; the latter also acting as nurses.

"Mr. Tours, of the British Legation, was the head of the Fire Department. During the first week of the siege, fires formed the greatest element of danger. The ladies formed a Committee on Sand Bags. They are said to have made 50,000 the first six weeks. Almost every conceivable thing that would make a sand bag was turned into one. Tablecloths and bed linen, *portières* and silk curtains, carpets and window curtains, foreign and Chinese clothes, silk from Chinese shops inside the lines, were all used to make the much-needed sand bag."

The following are extracts from Dr. Morrison's account:—

"On June 22nd, by a blunder of Captain

Thomann, the Austrian commander, a panic, that might have proved disastrous, occurred. He had without reason ordered the abandonment of most of the Legations. On this, at the request of all the Ministers, Sir Claude MacDonald assumed chief command. The positions were re-occupied, except one barricade.

"It was obvious from the first, that the great danger at the British Legation would be from incendiarism. A fire was started behind Mr. Cockburn's house, and only by desperate work were the flames got under. It was then proposed to pull down an unimportant building of the Hanlin Academy. The proposition was vetoed. Such desecration, it was said, would wound the susceptibilities of the Chinese Government. It was 'the most sacred building in China.' So little do the oldest of us understand the Chinese!

"A strong wind was blowing from the Hanlin into the Legation, the distance separating the nearest building from the Minister's residence being only a few feet. Fire the one, and the Minister's residence would have been in danger. Suddenly there was the alarm of fire. Smoke was rising from the Hanlin. The most venerated pile in Peking, the great Imperial Academy, centre of all Chinese learning, with its priceless collection of books and manuscripts, was in flames. Every one who was off duty rushed to the back of the Legation. The Hanlin had been occupied during

the night by Imperial soldiers, who did not hesitate, in their rage to destroy the foreigners, to set fire to the buildings. It was first necessary to clear the temple. A breach was made in the wall, Captain Poole headed a force of marines and volunteers, who rushed in, divided, searched the courts, and returned to the main pavilion, with its superb pillars and memorial tablets. Chinese were rushing from other burning pavilions to the main entrance. They were taken by surprise and many were killed, but they had done their evil deed. Other great libraries have been destroyed by the victorious invader. What can be thought of a nation which destroys its own most sacred edifice, the pride and glory of its learned men through centuries, in order to wreak vengeance upon the foreigner?

"Then were fired the Dutch Legation, the Russo-Chinese Bank, and all the Customs buildings. Flames were on every side, the smoke was tremendous, while the fusillade was incessant.

"Then Krupp guns opened fire, and they began to make bomb-proof shelters for the women and children. On the 25th the Chinese tried to throw the Legation people off their guard by treacherously putting up a board, on which were the words: 'Imperial command to protect Ministers, and stop firing. A despatch will be handed in at the Imperial Canal Bridge.' A hundred rifles were levelled at the one who went for it, the despatch

was never received, and vigilance was redoubled. On July 1st M. Wagner was killed by the bursting of a shell, the first civilian to lay down his life for the besieged women and children. It was a day of misfortune. In the afternoon a most disastrous sortie was made to take a Krupp gun. The party consisted of sixteen Italians, four Austrians, two French, seven British marines, and five British students, who behaved with great pluck and dash. They were caught in a trap, and it was considered fortunate not more were involved. Three men and an officer were killed, and five wounded.

"The gun that was not captured was brought up again next day into play, and continued battering down the Fu walls (the 'Fu' was Prince Su's palace, where were the refugee Christians). The enemy were working their way ever nearer to them. Their rage to reach the Christians was appalling. They cursed them from over the wall, hurled stones at them, and threw shells to explode overhead. Only after the armistice, when we received the *Peking Gazette*, did we find that word to burn out and slaughter the converts had come from the highest in the land.

"The Japanese were driven still further back. Already they had lost heavily, for upon them had fallen the brunt of a defence, the gallantry of which surpassed all praise. When the siege was raised, it was found that of the entire force of marines

posed to a heavy fire, retired within what had been the Chinese barricade, and employed it against the enemy who had built it. Captain Myers was wounded in the knee by tripping over a fallen spear.

"News of the successful sortie gave much pleasure to the community. Chinese coolies were sent on the wall, and a strongly intrenched redoubt was built there; the camp was made safe by traverses. Unfortunately, the wound of Captain Myers proved more serious than was at first suspected, and he was not again able to return to duty. The services of a brave and capable officer were lost to the garrison; his post on the wall was taken most ably by Captain Percy Smith, and other officers in turn.

"Most of the shelling was now directed against the French and German Legations and Chamot's Hotel. The hotel was struck ninety-one times, and was several times set on fire, but the flame was extinguished. Work continued there, however hot the shelling, for food had to be prepared there for half the community in Peking, Russians, French, Germans, and Austrians. The energy of Chamot was marvellous. He fed the troops and a crowd of Christian refugees, killed his own mules and horses, ground his own wheat, and baked 300 loaves a day. Shelled out of the kitchen, he baked in the parlour. His courage inspired the Chinese, and they followed him under fire with an amazing confidence.

"Then suddenly a new attempt was made to reduce the British Legation. Guns firing round shot, eight-pounders and four-pounders, were mounted on the Imperial City wall overlooking from the north the Hanlin and the British Legation. With glasses—the distance was only 350 yards—one could clearly see the officers and distinguish their Imperial peacock feathers and Mandarin hats. Adjoining the battery an upper row of stones on the wall was raised to form loopholes for sharpshooters, who could thus enfilade the canal and our communications eastward. Round shot were hurled into the Hanlin and crashed through the roofs of the British Legation. One pierced both walls of the dining-room, passing behind the portrait of the Queen. Two came crashing through the wall of a student's room, where a few minutes before Sir Claude MacDonald had been standing, watching the preparations being made to bombard us. Another struck the room occupied by a lady who was in bed and fell at her side. Another ploughed through the carts. Three batteries in all, carrying five guns, were mounted on the Imperial City wall where the bombardment could be witnessed by the Empress-Dowager and her counsellors, and day after day round shot were thrown from them into the British Legation, into a compound crowded with women and children. This is what His Excellency Lo Fêng-Luh was describing to Lord Salisbury as 'giving effective protection to the British Legation.'

mounted fifty yards away, had the range and raked the post with shell and shrapnel."

Meanwhile, the French and German Legations were being roughly handled, and men were falling daily. Chinese and French were so close that the voices of the Chinese officers could be heard encouraging their men. Chinese were within the Legation itself. Their guns bombarded the Minister's residence. On the afternoon of the 13th there was a dull roar in the midst of the devilish cries of hordes of Chinese, the rattle of musketry and the boom of heavy guns. A mine had exploded, and burst an entrance into the French Legation.

Driven from the main building, the small garrison fell back to a line of defence and securely held it. The buildings that were left were set fire to, and when the flames had burnt out, Imperial banners were hoisted over the ruins of what had once been the residence of the French Minister. And while this tragedy was being enacted in Peking the Chinese Ambassador in Paris was assuring the President that his Government was "protecting" the French Legation!

Fierce, too, were the attacks on the German Legation. The strength of their garrison numbered only one officer and thirty-one men. They broke into the club alongside the Legation, and were on the tennis ground, when Count Soden and a handful of German soldiers gallantly charged them

at the point of the bayonet, and drove them out headlong. Reinforcements of Russians and Germans came up. Their services were not needed. The attack was over. Uniforms on the dead Chinese showed that the attack had been carried out by the troops of Yung-lu, reinforced by the savages of Tungfuh-siang. Some of the dead were armed with the latest pattern Mauser, and the newest German army revolver.

"On July 14th, a messenger brought a letter from Prince Ching 'and others.' It was the first communication from outside for nearly a month. The letter was read with derision. It was interpreted as a guileless attempt to seduce the ministers away and massacre them at ease. News, we heard, had just reached the Chinese of the taking of the native city of Tientsin. (The foreign concession of Tientsin had been relieved June 24th.)

"They had invited the ministers to go 'without a single armed soldier,' and 'temporarily reside in the Chinese Foreign Office'! On the 15th a reply was sent declining this request.

"Firing continued furiously. On the morning of the 16th, Captain Strouts, the senior British officer, was shot, and died an hour afterwards. He was always cool and self-reliant, and never spared himself, while always considerate of his men. On the 16th a message came from the outside world—it was in cipher, addressed to the American Minister, Mr. Conger. From July 17th there was a cessation of

to Marquis di Salvaggo Raggi their grief at receiving news of the death of the King of Italy, and they informed him that Lo Fêng-Luh had been appointed by special decree to express the condolences of the Emperor and Dowager-Empress. On the death of the Duke of Edinburgh, the Yamên made a similar notification to the British Minister, and this gave Sir Claude an opportunity, which he did not fail to seize, of reminding the Yamên of the strange inconsistency of their action. The presence of Lo Fêng-Luh in London engaged in conveying condolences to Her Majesty indicated a maintenance of friendly relations, which was in no way compatible with the existence of hostilities in Peking, and the continued deprivation, extending over two months, of the Legations of food. Sir Claude might well have added that he had no reason to think that His Excellency the Chinese Minister in London was inditing his despatches to the Foreign Office sandbagged in his chancery in Portland Place, with 12-pounder shells exploding on the bedroom floor, and with the guards under a barricade opposite firing volleys into his family's dwelling rooms."

On August 10th, Friday, a messenger succeeded in passing the enemy's lines, and brought us letters from General Gaselee and General Fukushima. A strong relief force was marching to Peking, and would arrive here, if nothing untoward happened, on the 13th or 14th. Our danger then was that the enemy would make a final effort to rush the Lega-

tions before the arrival of reinforcements. And the expected happened. For the last two days we had to sustain a furious fusillade and bombardment, and our casualties were many. One shell burst in Sir Claude MacDonald's bedroom. But our defences were now admirable and our walls shell-proof. We had seized the Mongol market, and killed the general in command of the Shan-si troops who had undertaken to reduce the Legations in five days.

On August 12th, the impersonal body "Prince Ching and others," wrote requesting an audience with the foreign Ministers to discuss the preliminaries of a cessation of hostilities. Permission was given and the interview fixed for 11 a.m. next day, but the Ministers never came. At the last moment they were "too occupied," or too frightened, to come. Yesterday passed under a continuous fusillade, which increased during the night. Then at three on the morning of August 14th we were all awakened by the booming of guns in the east and by the welcome sound of volley firing. Word flew round that "the foreign troops are at the city wall and are shelling the East Gate." At daylight most of us went on to the wall, and witnessed the shelling of the Great East Gate. We knew that the allies would advance in separate columns, and were on the *qui vive* of excitement, knowing that at any moment now the troops might arrive. Luncheon, the hard luncheon of horseflesh, came on, and we had just finished when the cry rang through the

Legation, "The British are coming!" and there was a rush to the entrance and up Canal Street towards the Water Gate. The stalwart forms of the general and his staff were entering by the Water Gate, followed by the 1st Regiment of Sikhs and the 7th Rajputs. They passed down Canal Street, and amid a scene of indescribable emotion marched to the British Legation. The siege had been raised."

It is well to add the following remarks of Dr. W. A. P. Martin, Principal of the Tung Wen College in Peking. Dr. Martin is one of the most learned men in China, and himself went through the siege. His remarks about Dr. Morrison, the author of the thrilling extracts which make up this chapter, are appropriate at this point:—

[1] "The German Minister laid down his life for all the others. Another who did likewise was Professor James. He was shot while crossing a bridge where he had negotiated a place of refuge for the native Christians. He was seen to fall, but his body was never recovered. He died an honourable death. Another man who should be mentioned is Dr. Morrison, as brave a man as can be found in the whole world, and full of charity. He exerted himself to save the native Christians. Formerly Dr. Morrison had made use of some remarks which had offended many missionaries. He had made ample atonement now by saving the lives of hundreds of converts. At the instance of Mrs. Squiers

[1] *North China Herald*, August 3, 1900.

(the wife of the American Secretary), this brave man went to look for Christians in the ashes of the old cathedral which had just been burnt down. He brought back with him not fewer than four hundred, the most melancholy persons the speaker had ever seen. As they passed down Legation Street, weary, sick, hungry, and in rags, he saw one man with his old mother on his shoulders. He was seeking a place of refuge for her. Another aged woman was on foot. She was the mother of a former Chinese plenipotentiary, and now at the Paris Exposition, as representative of the Chinese Government. A man of that position could not leave his mother in his own country, because she was a Christian! His house had been burnt down, and his family destroyed. An expansive charity went out towards all the native Christians, and everything was done to save their lives. 2,000 Catholic and Protestant converts were collected in the mansion of a Mongol prince, and 3,000 or 4,000 in the Catholic Cathedral. In this latter place, Bishop Favier, with the help of forty marines, succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay for two months. Brave and brilliant as was the defence of the British Legation, the most brilliant spot in all the siege was the Roman Catholic Cathedral.

'Sometimes it was said that too much attention was paid to the safety of the native Christians. The testimony of those who knew was that, but for those Christians, it would have been impossible to

hold the British Legation. What did they do? Those Christians supplied bone and muscle. They were the labouring force, skilfully organized by missionaries, and patiently performed the duties of building barricades under a galling fire."

As the circumstances of this famous siege are unparalleled, so are the remarkable chains of events which led to the relief of the besieged.

This is well put by M. Pichon, the French Ambassador, in his account given to the French President:—

[1] "It is a wonder the besieged were able to resist and be saved. A series of extraordinary events, the origin of which was less the will of men than the occurrence of circumstances which could not be foreseen, was the only thing which prevented the general massacre to which they seemed condemned.

"If, on the 20th June, all the members of the Diplomatic Corps had gone to the Tsung-li-Yamên, as they had intended doing, none of them would have escaped death, or at least the firing of the Chinese soldiers. As chance would have it, only the German Minister set out to attend the audience which he had demanded. He was assassinated. If, on June 22nd, the Legations of France, Germany, America, and Russia had been evacuated, or if that evacuation had taken place, as was seriously contemplated a few days later, the British Legation

[1] *Standard*, November 10, 1900.

would have succumbed in less than a fortnight. If at the very commencement of the siege we had not discovered in abandoned houses sufficient rice and corn to feed 900 refugees and 2,400 native Christians for more than two months, we should have been reduced to surrender by famine.

"Had our aggressors, instead of sending the greater number of their artillerymen to Tientsin, kept a few good gunners at Peking, we should have been unable to protect ourselves against their fire. Moreover, if the Chinese had possessed a little courage, and had attempted to storm our walls and barricades, we should have been crushed by their numerical superiority. If from July 17th we had not profited by a sort of intermittent armistice, the causes of which it is difficult to understand, the losses we should have suffered would have reduced us to powerlessness. Our ammunition would also have been exhausted before it would have been possible to liberate us. If the International Army which arrived in the Capital on August 14th had delayed its entry twenty-four hours, it is probable it would have found no one living. The Chinese had dug a mine fifty-four metres long under the British Legation, and had it been exploded it would have killed some hundred persons, and would have opened to the assailants the refuge of the women and children. They had accomplished a similar work on the Wall, which would have blown up the Russo-American barricade, and they were not far

forty years which have intervened the relations between China and the Powers have been regulated, for the most part, by communications through the Tsungli Yamên, an anomalous affix to the Department of Inferior States and Dependencies. This Board has generally been composed of about a dozen members of various degrees of rank, many of them with no experience in foreign affairs, or, indeed, knowledge of them, sometimes appointed to their posts for the express reason that they were so absolutely ignorant of the topics under discussion that it was then simply impossible for them to block the progress of necessary business, which they might do from outside by acting as a censorate. To the ordinary obstructions of Oriental diplomacy have been added in China the jealousy of the various Powers of one another, of which full advantage has been taken by the Chinese in impeding and often neutralising any concessions which might be made. In recent years more especially it has been true of this wearisome Board that, like the chariots of Pharaoh, its wheels "drave heavily," so that Lord Salisbury was abundantly justified in characterising it as simply "a machine to register the amount of pressure brought to bear upon it."

Many generations of Chinese and Manchu statesmen have come into relations with foreigners during the forty years of diplomatic and other intercourse, and for many of these Orientals Occidentals have

come to entertain a high regard. But the relations have for the most part been public and formal. Although the Yamên Ministers have gone to the Legations for occasional banquets, it has always been noticeable that there were no return visits at their own homes, the effort to introduce such an innovation a few years since being a blank failure. With the exception of the missionaries, it has still remained true, after more than a generation of life in Peking, that its homes are closed to outsiders.

The number of cases treated in the various hospitals, especially in the pioneer one of the London Mission, has amounted to hundreds of thousands, perhaps even to a million or more, and many wide and effectual doors have thus been opened to the Chinese heart; but, taking Peking as a whole, it must be called an anti-foreign city from first to last. It has long been known that the native pundits who teach foreigners the language would not recognise their pupils on the street should they meet them, because, whatever their private views might be, to do so would cause the pundit to lose "face," or self-respect. And what was true of scholars was, to a considerable extent, the case also with the tradesmen, who were willing enough to absorb the foreign dollars, but who despised their owners; the same was also true, to a large extent, of the working class, even the coolies, who felt themselves immeasurably the superiors of those for whom they toiled, a view not perhaps unlike that

entertained by the Jews in Babylon toward their conquerors.

There has never in history been a time when foreigners in North China have not been called opprobrious nicknames, often to their faces and constantly behind their backs, one of the most common originating at Tientsin when the Allies first arrived, to wit, "Mao-tzu," or more fully, "Hung Mao-tzu" — Red-haired (Devil). This phrase has been heard screamed at one by infants just learning to talk, and muttered by old men and women, until it has seemed too deeply ingrained to be disused in the life-time of any now living. The Southern City of Peking has always prided itself upon being far more pronouncedly anti-foreign than the Tartar City. It has steadily resisted every effort to buy a foot of its sacred soil for missionary purposes; and, if there have been occasional exceptions to the failure of such attempts, they have but served to emphasize the general rule.

Within recent years the railway has been brought to the very gate of the Southern City, and an electric railway formed the last link in the line of rapid communication. There was a telegraph office, first in the Southern City, and later in the vicinity of the Tsungli Yamên itself. Public sentiment in a country like China, while very real and very despotic, is so unlike that in any Western lands, that it is almost impossible for an Occidental to comprehend

it. It can be gently led, but it cannot be driven. If the reforms of two years since had come at suitable intervals, with time to prepare the public mind for them, there might have been no riots and no serious reaction. As it was, being delivered in loads of forty tons each on the deck of the ship-of-State, they well-nigh upset it. The reaction once having set in, it carried everything before it, and the latent hostility to railways, telegraphs, electricity, and all the new fads, took tangible shape as soon as an opportunity occurred.

The railway to Tientsin was absolutely destroyed. The telegraph poles were sawn off near the ground; everything which had a foreign aspect, everything which was in any way suggestive of foreigners, was included in the general ruin. All the numerous summer houses at the Western Hills, including the new ones just built at great expense by the British Legation, were reduced to a wreck. The race-course and grand-stand were obliterated, and the foreign cemetery desecrated past belief, willows thirty years old being sawn down and carried away, the enclosing walls dug up and carried off down to the bottom, the grave-stones and monuments overthrown and pulverised as far as possible. Thirteen of the graves were dug into, the corpses taken out and burned, the ground being still strewn with fragments of bones, cloth and buttons.

Large detachments of the troops of Yung-lu,

Commander-in-Chief of the Chïh-li Army, of those of Tungfuh-siang (a ruffian from Kan-su, who arrived in Peking two years ago, and who has exerted a sinister influence ever since), and also of Ma Yü-k'un, were detailed to "guard the Legations," which presently signified to make war on them. These soldiers were related to the Boxers as scorpions to grasshoppers, and reduced the city to an acute pitch of misery such as it has not known since the arrival of foreigners. Many families were extinguished, and in others only one or two out of eight or ten members remain alive. Hundreds of house doors are walled up entirely, which often means that there is no one left. The savages from Kan-su, who follow General Tung, speak a strange dialect almost unintelligible to the Pekingese, but they have written their names in blood. They are to the Chinese here what the Chaldeans from afar were to the ancient Jews, "a hasty and a bitter people."

The ruin of all Christians has been mentioned. The followers of foreigners were all called "Mao-tzu." Those who had traded with them, or aided them in any way, were styled "Erh Mao-tzu," or Secondary Devils; and those who were related to such, or who helped them to escape, were called "San Mao-tzu," or Tertiary Devils, and all of them were liable to be plundered at sight. With a base-line of this width, it is easy to see what a sweep is included. During the week of burning, the com-

paratively few foreign houses by no means sufficed to quench the unquenchable thirst for places to loot and to destroy. Some days one could count six or eight distinct fires in different quarters, the greatest of them all being the destructive conflagration outside the Ch'ien-mên, or front gate of the Southern City, where were situated the richest shops and the most flourishing trade of Peking. The compradore of the Hong-kong Bank (afterwards himself killed as an "Erh Mao-tzu") estimated the loss in this fire alone at five million pounds sterling! It is impossible to say how great an area has been destroyed by fire, but the places are numerous and some of the tracts are large. From the Russian and American Legations west to Ch'ien-mên, many hundred yards wide and perhaps a quarter of a mile long, there is now a stretch without a single building standing intact.

A similar devastation is seen to the north of the northern gate of the Imperial City, and on a smaller scale in multitudes of other localities as well. When it was again possible for foreigners to traverse the streets of Peking, the desolation which met the eye was appalling. Dead bodies of soldiers lay in heaps, or singly, in some instances covered with a torn old mat, but always a prey to the now well-fed pariah dogs. Indeed, dead dogs and dead horses poisoned the air of every region. The huge pools of stagnant water were reeking with putrid corpses of man and beast, lean cats staring wildly at the passer-by

from holes broken in the front of shops boasting such signs as "Perpetual Abundance," "Springs of Plenty," "Ten Thousand Prosperities," and the oft-quoted maxim from the Great Learning, "There is a highway to the production of wealth." One might see over the door of a place thrice looted, and lying in utter ruin, the cheerful motto, "Peace and Tranquillity." For miles upon miles of the busiest streets of the Northern and Southern City, not a single shop was open for business, and scarcely a group of persons was anywhere to be seen.

The Boxer movement was anti-foreign, even foreign cloth, watches and matches being taboo. One of the permanent mottoes everywhere displayed on their flags was the words, "Mieh Yang"—exterminate foreigners. But the Capital of the Chinese Empire had no sooner been occupied, and its territory distributed for purposes of patrol among the several military contingents represented, than the Chinese began to adapt themselves to the new relations, with the same ease with which water fits itself to the dish into which it is poured.

The Japanese, having the command of the Chinese written language, were the first to enter this new field, and in three days the whole city was inundated with little flags with a red disc in the middle, and thousands of doors began to be ornamented with the legend, "Compliant Subjects of the Japanese Nation." For some time it was com-

mon to meet Chinese with such flags, the upper space blank, and only the words, "Compliant Subjects," inserted, the nation to which they gave in their adherence being left to be filled in later—a striking commentary on the "patriotism" of the Chinese. Of ten men on the streets, eight would probably be furnished with the flags (in cheap imitation only, and much the worse for a heavy shower) of different lands.

The advice, so often given by Chinese to one another, not to follow foreigners, has then brought about this result, probably unique in the history of mankind. Not only are flags made the symbol of allegiance to other and unknown countries, but the English language is tortured to compel it to announce this allegiance. "Belong Japan" is the notice on an old shed in the great Ha-ta Street. "Noble and good Sirs," reads another placard, "please do not shoot us. We are good people." Surely never was there stranger and more unanticipated fulfilment of the prophecy that "The sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee," than the circumstance that within a few doors of a temple which served as a Boxer headquarters, one now reads the surprising legend, "God Christianity men"; while the remainder of the alley is decorated with the reiterated petition, "Pray officer exquse. Here good people." The temptation to extort money for alleged protection is very great, and it is to be confessed with shame that among the

adventurers and scoundrels which follow the army, there are those who have trailed the fair name of the United States and Great Britain in the dust. In an especially flagrant case, a man termed himself "Gervais Coek & Company," and blackmailed large numbers of poor Chinese, wresting from them silver, goods, and even the title-deeds of their property, as an equivalent for protection which he had not power to give, and which in Russian patrol territory it was impudent to offer. This individual was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be shot, a sentence none too severe, but not carried out.

To other evils inseparable from military occupation must be added that of pillage, which is forbidden in theory by some nations, but practised to some extent by all soldiers. Day after day long lines of mules may be seen loaded with the loot of silk-shops, cloth-shops, grain-shops—with anything and everything. The British policy is the most scientific, in which everything is turned into a common stock, and sold for the benefit of the occupying army. The Russian plan is that of the Middle Ages, slightly modified by a veneer of Christianity, and is accompanied by the violation of women on a scale which leads to the suicides of hundreds of Chinese till the wells are choked. The savagery of some of the Russian troops is simply barbarism; but there is no nation which can throw stones at another in this dreadful matter.

And all this has come upon Peking, and follows

the terrible evils which went before. There is not only no business doing in Peking, but the very sources of commercial prosperity have been cut up by the roots. In the Northern City were four allied banks, each with the character "Heng," denoting perpetuity, and the syndicate (owned by a eunuch of the palace) was supposed to be as safe as the Bank of England. In the third week in June, the Chinese soldiers plundered each of the perpetuities, which have ceased to exist—as have all other cash-shops and banks. The streets are abundantly supplied with bank bills, which blow hither and thither with the gusts of wind and the swirls of dust, and are impartially rooted in the gutters by the few surviving pigs.

That the Boxer movement was essentially an Imperial one is now proved beyond doubt. The yellow handbills are headed with the words "Ch'in Ming," denoting "In accordance with Imperial Order"; and their proclamations embody the same language. They even went to the length of issuing a new coin, of enormous size and thickness, with the legend, "Tien Hsia T'ai P'ing"—"The Empire at Peace"—a prophecy remote from the facts as developed.

The Manchu and Mongol palaces, in which these schemes were devised and carried out, are now abandoned. Prince Tuan is reported to have set fire to his palace before he left Peking. That of Prince Chung is occupied as Japanese headquarters.

The hated missionaries, and the remnant of the flock whom they have succeeded in saving, are now living in the handsome dwellings of some of those who lately tried to kill them, as the Children of Israel occupied the fenced cities in the Land of Canaan, cities which they neither built nor bought. The capital of a country is that country in small, and Peking is patrolled and governed by "The Powers," which issue proclamations in Chinese forbidding disorder, and directing those who may have complaints to whom to go. The city gates are the centre of its life, and symbols of the power. The outer brick tower of the Ch'ien-mên caught fire from the great conflagration set by the Boxers, and made a magnificent spectacle while it was burning for a day and a night. The other tower was accidentally burned late in August.

The Japanese blew up the outer tower of the Ch'i-hua Gate, and destroyed it, and fire was also set to the outer tower of the Ha-ta Gate the day after the foreign troops arrived. It is now a wreck, having afforded a picturesque sight to those who witnessed the bombardment of the southern approaches to the palace on August 15th, when the three outer gates were blown in by American guns. The Tung-pien and Sha-kuo Gates of the Southern City were each broken in by shells the day before; and all the nine gates of the Northern City, as well as the seven remaining ones of the Southern City, are guarded by troops of the eight Powers co-operat-

ing in a military occupation. The stern portcullis of the outer tower of the Front Gate (never opened except when the Emperor passed through) is destroyed; and for the first time there is a straight road from the palace grounds, through all the numerous gateways, to the Yung Ting Men, in the middle of the south face of the Southern City, not for the Emperor, but for every Chinese and every foreigner alike. It is a Great Wall of China obliterated at a blow.

Within the last-named gate, on the western side of the great street, is a spacious enclosure known as the Temple of Agriculture, the main contents of which are two large halls, and a smaller one to one side. The latter was used for the storage of the gilded and lacquered specimens of agricultural implements—the plough, the seed-drill, the harrow, the brush-harrow, the spade, the broom, the pitch-fork, and smaller utensils such as baskets and broad hats. All of these are unceremoniously hustled into the open air, and some of the smaller articles furnish convenient fuel for the 9th and 14th Regiments of U.S. Infantry, whose officers make the building their headquarters. The rear hall is now a hospital and flies the Red Cross flag, while the front hall is the Commissariat headquarters of the American detachment of the Army of Occupation, and displays long rows of hams, cases of tobacco, boxes of army beans, and barrels of beef. The marble altar, where the Emperor worships old legendary Shen Nung,

is a convenient place for the cavalry horses to be left in charge of the nearest coolie; and the choice spot of earth, which the Emperor is supposed to cultivate with his own hand every successive spring, as an example to the tillers of the soil all over the Empire, is, amid the dense growth of omnipresent weeds, quite indistinguishable.

Across the wide street opposite the Temple to Agriculture, with its altar to Earth, is the vast area, at least a mile on each face, enclosing the Temple of Heaven. For many, many years, it has been absolutely inaccessible to foreigners, and even during the minority of the present Emperor it has always been difficult to set one's foot inside. Now there is not a single Chinese anywhere to be seen, the keepers having been all driven away by the British when they took possession immediately on reaching Peking. One can drive his cart quite up to the lofty terrace leading to the triple cerulean domes denoting the three-fold Heaven. Each gate is sentried by a swarthy Sikh soldier, the personification of the domination of a greater Empire than that of Rome in its best days, who merely glances at you as you pass, or asks unintelligible questions in Hindustani, and makes a respectful salaam when he is informed in several European languages, as well as in Chinese, that you are unable to catch the drift of his observations.

The great building devoted to the Ancestral Tablets of the Manchu Dynasty stands wide open.

It contains a huge tablet on the northern side, to Imperial Heaven, and eight cases—four on a side—to the eight Emperors who have thus far reigned during the 256 years which have elapsed since Shun Chih took his seat upon the throne. Every one of the eight cases, with heavy carved doors, has been broken open, and every one of the eight tablets to the "T'ai Tsu," "Sheng Tsu," and the other deified ancestors has been taken away by British officers for transmission to the British Museum—an act of more than justifiable reprisal for Chinese treatment of the foreign cemetery, and also perhaps the most stunning blow which the system of ancestral worship ever received.

The Emperor's Hall of Fasting is the headquarters of the British Army in this part of the city, and every day it is partly filled with many cartloads of loot—silks, fans, silver and jade ornaments, embroidered clothing and the like—which is daily forwarded to the British Legation, where it is sold at auction for the benefit of the army, and is soon replaced by as much more. The personal apartments of the Emperor in the rear serve as the bedrooms of the officers, who look mildly surprised when the circumstance is communicated to them at their dinner, and merely give an inquiring glance as much as to say: "Well, what of it, don't you know?"

The Government of China has always been conducted through the agency of the six Boards, of War, Rites, Works, Revenue, Civil Office, and

Punishments, mostly situated on a street named after one of the most important ones, the Board of War. At the wide doors concealing the arcana of this Chinese official life, foreigners have for the most part hitherto gazed from afar. At present the doors of them all stand wide open, and any who list can wander through the courts at will. The Board of War is the headquarters of an Indian regiment, the tall and dusky warriors of the hill tribes of the Indian Frontier making themselves at home in the ample apartments at their disposal. The thrifty Japanese contrived to get the west side of this same street redistributed so as to come within their lines, and then sent a caravan of mules working day and night for a long period and carried off from the Board of Revenue treasury a sum reported to be at least three million taels of silver ingots. This same Oriental race, who appeared to know much more about Peking than the Pekingese themselves, promptly fastened their talons on all the principal Imperial granaries, and are said to have in their possession rice to the value of 7,500,000 gold dollars, their indemnity being thus automatically paid with no diplomatic pressure whatever, or any consent asked of any "Power."

Immediately to the south of the Imperial City, and adjacent to the British Legation on the north-western side, lies a large tract enclosed by a lofty wall, which is generally known as the Carriage Park. There are several spacious halls, one of them

among the very largest to be found anywhere in China, and these are designed for the storage of the various sedan-chariots and vehicles of strange and hitherto undescribed varieties built or presented for Imperial use. This Carriage Park, it should be noted, was a grievous thorn in the side of the besieged occupants of the Legation throughout the siege, as one of the most threatening barricades was built in it, and the rifle-shots from that quarter were incessant. It was suspected, moreover, that it was intended to explode a mine under some of the nearest Legation buildings—only a few rods distant—a suspicion which proved to have been well founded, as the mine had been dug and the fuse prepared. The British relief corps had no sooner occupied the Legation than a hole was blown in the Carriage Park wall by means of dynamite, and the swarthy Pathans and Baluchis filed into the large pastures thus placed at their disposal.

It did not take long to run out of doors the lacquered red and yellow Imperial equipages, where they were afterwards exposed to the vicissitudes of the hot August sun and the pouring rains. Mountains of paraphernalia were found in every building—silk cushions, satin pillows, gorgeous harnesses and trappings of every description and of no description at all. Mule loads of this elegant rubbish was brought into the Legation for sale by auction, or perhaps for transmission on to the distant Isle of the Ocean whence came the "fierce and untamable

Barbarian" (as the British used to be termed in Chinese dispatches). Both in the expansive grounds of the Carriage Park and in the far larger ones of the Temple of Heaven, parks of artillery stand serenely awaiting fresh orders, the mules meantime trampling in the mire hundreds of moth-eaten official hats made of felt, and furlongs of once elegant and costly silk coverings of bridal chairs and palanquins. The tall weeds, undisturbed for no one can say how long by the hand of man or the hoof of beast, rapidly disappear, and the entire spectacle is one adapted to make Celestials weep.

Adjoining the Carriage Park on the east, and the British Legation on the north, stood the series of extensive courtyards and halls which contained the Hanlin, or Imperial Chinese University of highest grade, one of the most ancient and most famous seats of learning in the world. During the early days of the siege, to set fire to the Hanlin would be to roast the British Legation and every one in it. As a result of herculean efforts the fires were put out, but nearly all the halls were destroyed. The principal literary monument of the most ancient people in the world was obliterated in an afternoon, and the wooden stereotype plates of the most valuable works became a prey to the flames, or were used in building barricades, or for kindling for the British marines. Priceless literary treasures were tumbled into lotus-ponds, wet with the floods of water used to extinguish the fires, and later buried

after they had begun to rot, to diminish the disagreeable odour. Expensive camphor-wood cases containing the rare and unique Encyclopædia of Yung-lu (a lexicographical work resembling the *Century Dictionary*, but probably many hundred times as extensive) were filled with earth to form a part of the ramparts for defence, while the innumerable volumes comprising this great thesaurus were dispersed in every direction, probably to every library in Europe, as well as to innumerable private collections, while not a few of the volumes, being thrown into the common, will mould and be buried like the rest. Thousands of Hanlin Essays lay about the premises, the sport of every breeze, serving as firewood for the troops. Odd volumes of choice works furnished the waste paper of the entire Legation for nearly two months, and were found in the kitchens, used by the coolies as pads for carrying bricks on men's shoulders, and lay in piles in the outer streets and were ground into tatters under the wheels of passing carts when traffic was once more resumed. Of the varied forms of Nemesis connected with the uprising against foreigners in China, the fate of the ancient and famous Hanlin Yuan takes perhaps the foremost place. Out of twenty or twenty-five halls, but two remain, and it is impossible not to see that the ideas which this University represented have received a refutation which must convince even the most obstinate of Confucianists that the past era is for ever closed.

The part which the Tsungli Yamên, or Foreign Office, has taken in relations between China and the West has been already mentioned. It has been an Oriental Circumlocution Office, not to transact, but to prevent the transaction of, business. It is itself an epitome of the double-dealing, shuffling and treacherous policy which has marked the course of China's intercourse with her "Sister Nations." A just fate has overtaken it, for it is now guarded by a party of Japanese soldiers, and the various interpreters of the Legations went on a set day and unitedly sealed each bureau containing the records of the correspondence with his own country, so that they are in the safe custody of all the Powers, while not accessible to any one solely. The humiliation of a great Empire could scarcely go lower than this.

The single individual responsible before God and man for the misery and ruin which the progress of the Iho Ch'uan (Boxers) has brought in its train is the Empress-Dowager herself. It was she who fostered the scheme, and it was she who poured oil upon the flames which she professed to be trying to subdue. Next in importance, owing to his position, was Prince Tuan, father of the youth selected last winter as the successor of Kuang Hsü. The Empress is supposed to have been most influenced by his advice, as he had more at stake than any other subject."

Dr. Smith here mentions the names of many

high-placed officials and their guilt. We continue to quote, reminding the reader that the following paragraph was written in August.

"Yung-lu is supposed to have fled, and the same is true of Tung Fu-hsiang, who has the satisfaction of seeing his counsels followed to the letter, with the inevitable results. It has been already mentioned that the Princes Tuan and Chuang are refugees; the palace of one of them in ashes, the other, a headquarters for Japanese soldiers. Yü Lu, the Governor-General of the great province of Chïh-li, who occupied a post the most distinguished in the whole Empire, after the capture of Tientsin by the allied forces, committed suicide, leaving twenty or thirty millions of Chinese without a ruler. Reports differ in regard to the bitter and unscrupulous Li Ping-hêng, but all agree in his death, either as the result of a wound in battle, or by self-poisoning—the legitimate Confucian expression of deep discontent with one's fate.

"The Empress-Dowager herself left the palace, where she had so long exercised a despotism as absolute as in this age of the world any mortal can enjoy, in the early morning hours of August 15th, in great haste and fear, disguised as a common woman, with an ordinary cart for her use and an insignificant procession, so that for two days it was not ascertained for certain that she had left at all. The troops of her favourite, General Tung, ravaged the country in advance of the Imperial refugees, so that

it was difficult for them to get enough to support life, and many of the attendants are reported to have deserted and returned to Peking for this reason."

Dr. Smith had no means of knowing the Empress' whereabouts. He says, "Whether she has gone to Je-hô, the hunting grounds which her husband, Hsien Fêng, fled to in similar circumstances, forty years ago, or is testing the hospitality of some Mongol prince, is not yet known." He mentions Hsi-an Fu, saying that "it enjoys the advantage of being practically inaccessible to the world. Here she may set up a tinsel Court, and endeavour to go through the forms of a government the reality of which has passed away for ever."

"On the morning of the 28th of August, two weeks after the occupation of Peking, small detachments of the eight military forces concerned, marching in the order of the numbers of troops embarked in the campaign, made a formal entry into the Forbidden City, and were there reviewed by the Senior General in command, after which the British field artillery fired a salute of one and twenty guns, to indicate that the occupation in force of the innermost shrine of Chinese exclusiveness was now completely accomplished. Thus was added the last touch to the punishment of Peking.

"What is it that the Manchu nobles and the Empress-Dowager have achieved in their effort to exterminate the Ocean Men, and to drive Western civilization out of the Celestial Empire? Disaster,

humiliation, and abject defeat such as in modern days are rare, not to say unexampled. In a tempest of insane passion they have exiled themselves, put an end to Manchu domination, and lost the Decree of Heaven by which alone they have claimed to rule. 'Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.'"

Chinese to be shut up to the Confucian classics for mental pabulum, and not to have these three evils largely developed.

The extraordinary way in which those books speak of the Emperor of China, of his unique position relative to other rulers, the extravagant language used about China, and, in comparison, the infinite insignificance of other countries. The ideas that all monarchs are vassals of the Son of Heaven, and all countries tributary to China are dogmas which have their root in these books, and still live in the minds of scholars in many parts of China.

The practical difficulties which have beset our diplomatists in China for the last sixty years on this score have been great and constant.

Witness the tedious and protracted conferences over the "audience question," which *at last* resulted in foreign Ambassadors being able to have audience of the Emperor of China without prostrating themselves. The point was not gained till June, 1873. The classics thus foster *pride*. To the exclusive study of these books may be attributed much of the *ignorance* of officials, especially in matters relating to foreign countries.

And the same books greatly foster their *superstition*. Polytheism has its root here, and this opened the way later on for idolatry to enter. Lucky days, fortune-telling, omens, the finding out of Heaven's will by stalks and the tortoise-shell—all have their place here.

The influence of imaginary beasts or reptiles such as dragons, phœnixes, "ch'i lins," etc., are, in the classics, held to affect both things celestial and things terrestrial.

In making the Government of China the scapegoat for the uprising, we must mention another moral evil which has very much to do with the whole question. We refer to *insincerity*.

The nations of the West have stood appalled at the unfathomable depths of guile, deceit, duplicity and subterfuge, which the whole movement has revealed.

Can this be at all accounted for? Man, of course, is a fallen creature, and we are familiar with what the Bible says about the "heart" of man and its "deceitfulness"; but still, in all nations deceit is not in the same degree of concentration.

We believe that again the classical writings of the Chinese, and even the example of Confucius himself, are causes which have not a little to do with this lamentable state of things.

Dr. Ernst Faber, after speaking of the excellency of much Confucian teaching, sums up its errors and defects under twenty-four heads. One of these (the 10th) says, "Though confidence" (or sincerity) "is indeed frequently insisted upon, its presupposition, viz., truthfulness in speaking, is never practically urged, but rather the reverse."

As to Confucius. He is a man who has been strangely overrated. In China it is common for the Chinese to speak of their ideographs or char-

acters as "Confucian characters" — though they were in existence over 1,000 years before he was born. So too the four books and five classics of China are commonly called the "Confucian classics," though indeed he was the author of only one of them, and that the most meagre of the lot, devoid even of literary beauty. It is called the *Spring and Autumn*, and consists of the history of a space of barely 250 years.

Dr. Legge says that "we find in it the briefest possible intimations of matters . . . without the slightest tincture of literary ability in the composition. . . . So-and-so took place. That is all. No details are given; no judgment is expressed."

Of this book, Mencius says, "Confucius made the *Spring and Autumn*, and unfilial sons were struck with terror."

Confucius actually stakes his reputation in after ages on it. "It is by the *Spring and Autumn*," said he, "that men will know me, and also by it that they will condemn me."

On this, Dr. Legge makes the following pregnant remarks, "Was his own heart misgiving him, when he thus spoke of men condemning him for the *Spring and Autumn*? The fact is that the annals are evasive and deceptive. 'The *Spring and Autumn*,' says Kung Yang, who commented on it within a century of its composition, 'conceals [the truth] out of regard to the high in rank, to kinship, and to men of worth.' And I have shown in the

fifth volume of my *Chinese Classics* that this 'concealing' covers all the ground embraced in our three English words — ignoring, concealing, and misrepresenting." Dr. Legge then goes on to say he longs to be able to deny that Confucius was the author of the book, but this cannot be done. He ends up by saying, "Truthfulness was one of the subjects that Confucius often insisted on with his disciples; but the *Spring and Autumn* has led his countrymen to conceal the truth from themselves and others, whenever they think it would injuriously affect the reputation of the Empire or of its sages."

Dr. Morrison notices some striking examples of this in his account of the siege in Peking. His insight into "China from within" is shown in such a passage as this, "It was quite in accordance with Chinese custom, that a despatch saying that the seizure of the Taku Forts had been threatened should be sent *after* the seizure had been effected. What is distasteful to them to say, *they avoid saying.*" Straightforwardness is with the Chinese barely a virtue. The following saying of Confucius is significant, "Straightforwardness without propriety becomes rudeness."

The history of China's dealings with foreign nations keeps repeating itself. Speaking of the Government of China at the time after the Tientsin Treaty in 1860, Dr. Williams says, "What could be done with a Government which would never condescend to appreciate its own weakness, would never

speak or act the truth, and would never treat any other nation as an equal?"

A few hurtful sayings and doctrines of the sage may here be quoted, which have doubtless not been only used once or twice in fomenting these troubles.

1. "Beware of strange customs."

2. "The Master said, 'He is no disciple of mine. My little children, beat the drum and assail him.'"

3. Also his doctrine on *blood-revenge*, which is directly responsible for the innumerable bloody clan-feuds which so fill Chinese history.

This may be thought a long digression, but so intimate is its connection with the subject in hand that we have ventured to make it.

We maintain, then, that the cause above all causes of the uprising was the pride, ignorance and superstition of the high Manchu officials. We can hardly say the *only* cause, but out of one hundred parts we believe it accounts for ninety.

We leave ten parts for the other side, as the proverb "it takes two to make a quarrel" usually holds good.

Let us now consider other factors in the causes of the crisis under several heads.

1. What is it on the part of foreigners that has so aroused this Manchu pride and wrath? Rightly or wrongly, we believe *their* answer would be, "the political action of foreign countries in acquiring Chinese territory, especially the seizure of Kiao-chou by the Germans."

The seizure of territory is constantly referred to in the edicts, some of which we have quoted in part or in full in earlier chapters.

The Empress-Dowager's secret edict to Viceroys of November 21st, 1899, speaks thus:—

"The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavours to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories;" and, in its last clauses, speaks of "the ruthless hand of the invader."

In December, there was another secret edict to Viceroys, directing them to energetically prepare for war against the foreigners, who "like tigers were devouring the land."

One of the chief proclamations about the beginning of the movement opens thus,—

"Foreigners have for forty years upturned the Empire, have taken our territory, and seized upon our revenues."

It was not till after the councils in the Imperial palace (referred to in chap. VI.), when extermination of foreigners had been decided on, that religion was brought up in Imperial decrees.

On June 21st, a decree was issued in which religion is mentioned in adverse terms, but even then *territory* is the burning question. Speaking of foreigners, it says, "At first they were amenable to Chinese control, but for the past thirty years they have taken advantage of Chinese forbearance, to encroach on China's territory, to trample

nearly always have officials, often high-placed ones, to be their planners, instigators, or abettors. That those murders would have taken place if the Manchu Government had been *sincere in respecting the treaty rights of foreigners*, and Li ping-heng, the Governor of the Province, had been other than anti-foreign, is not for a moment to be believed.

Some years ago, a friend of ours at Hankow told us the following story :—

It was a time of great unrest all along the Yang-tse Valley, Green and Argent had been murdered at Wu-süeh. Two Scandinavians had been done to violent death. The Viceroy professed himself powerless to deal with the uprising. "The people," said he, "have got beyond my control." The British Consul, however, was a strong man, and knew something of the Chinese. He informed the Viceroy that a British gunboat was in the river, and that if the disturbances were not quelled within forty-eight hours, the town of Wu-ch'ang would be bombarded, and the Viceroy's residence marked out for the first honours. The telegraph and runners carried the Viceroy's messages. In forty-eight hours the disturbance was at an end!

For the accuracy of the facts, we cannot vouch; the truth contained in the story holds good. In the acquisition of territory then, even in the case of Kiao-chou, China has no real ground for grievance. If we go to the *root* of the matter, China is to blame in not fulfilling her treaty obligations.

2. If the Chinese would note the political action of foreign Governments, we must acknowledge their *inaction.*

The permission of the first *coup d'état* of October, 1898, whereby the reactionary Empress deposed the progressive young Emperor, was a political blunder.

The permission of the second *coup d'état* of January, 1900, was another.

The permission of Yü-hsien to be made Governor of Shan-si was a third.

These were mistakes of European Governments generally; all the great Powers were more or less concerned. Doubtless action would have been difficult. Owing to the conflicting interests and mutual jealousies of the Powers, a consensus of opinion would have been hard to arrive at. We do not discuss the question, but merely point out three instances of political inaction which had disastrous results.

3. The missionary problem.

However it may be accounted for, the fact remains, that the missionaries are somewhat generally held to be at the bottom of all this trouble.

That the Manchu Government has ever sincerely appreciated the work of missionaries, is open to doubt. If the present young Emperor had been allowed to have his way, any doubts on that score would have ere now been dissipated.

Yet even the Empress-Dowager's Government

has not hesitated to speak well of their work. In June, 1891, the Chinese Foreign Office submitted this memorial to the throne.

"The religion of the West has for its object the inculcation of virtue, and in Western countries it is everywhere practised. Its origin dates a long time past, and on the establishment of commercial intercourse between China and foreign Powers, a clause was inserted in the treaties to the effect that 'persons professing or teaching the Christian religion should enjoy full protection of their persons and property, and be allowed free exercise of their religion."

"The hospitals and orphanages maintained by the missionaries all evince a spirit of benevolent enterprise. Of late years, when distress has befallen any portion of the Empire, missionaries and others have never failed to come forward to assist the sufferers by subscribing money and distributing relief. For their cheerful readiness to do good, and the pleasure they take in works of charity, they assuredly deserve high commendation."

Nevertheless, the Manchus are saturated with suspicion, they *will* have it that we want their country; they generally believe, too, that our religious teaching is a cloak for political moves. "Ah! they have not come here for nothing, they want to steal our hearts, and after that, our 'hills and streams.'" This is a sentiment common amongst the people, which has come down to them from higher sources. The proof that this uprising

was essentially *anti-foreign*, and only anti-missionary because it was anti-foreign, is to our mind conclusive —it is, we believe, capable of demonstration.

In the first place the anti-foreign policy of the reactionaries became the Government policy of China in September, 1898, and was steadily pursued from that time till its culmination in June, 1900. In the inflammatory edicts of November and December, 1899—which could hardly be more hostile—not the remotest reference is made to missionaries. The bloody edict which, in June last, was telegraphed all over China, was in brief but pregnant language; it ran thus: "You must kill the foreigners outright" (it does not say "missionaries"), "if foreigners retreat" (*i.e.*, try to escape) "kill them immediately." (Yang ren pih shah, yang ren t'ui hui chih shah.) "A copy of this edict, wired from Peking, was confidentially given to a fellow-missionary by a native friend, out of the Brigadier-General's residence in Nanyang Fu Honan, in the beginning of July this year."[1]

The first official edict speaking disparagingly of missions and missionaries, with which we are acquainted, was issued as a decree on June 21st, 1900. It must be remembered that then the Government was an oligarchy of murderers and ruffians with Prince Tuan at their head. They were madmen, entirely bereft of a judicial mind. On that very day their soldiers were engaged in bombarding

[1] *North China Herald*, October 10th, 1900.

the Legations, yet *even then* the language is not so strong as might be supposed. The decree, speaking of foreigners, says:—

"In the reigns of Tao kuang and Hsien Feng they were allowed to trade, and they also asked leave to propagate their religion, a request which the Throne reluctantly granted." Then followed the remarks about encroaching on "China's territory," etc., quoted on page 149, and then "They oppressed peaceful citizens, and insulted the gods and sages, exciting the most burning indignation among the people. Hence the burning of chapels, and the slaughter of the converts by the patriotic braves" (Boxers). "The decrees declaring Boxers and converts to be equally the children of the State were issued in the hope of removing the old feud between people and converts, and extreme kindness was shown to the strangers from afar." It then goes on to speak of the ingratitude of the foreigners for all this kindness, shown by their taking the Taku Forts, etc.; and promises rewards to those that distinguish themselves in battle."[1]

[2] On the 2nd of July, 1900, there was issued this edict:—

"Ever since foreign nations began the propagation of their religion, there have been many instances throughout the country of ill-feeling between the people and the converts. All this is due to faulty administration on the part of the local authorities,

[1] *North China Herald.* [2] *Idem.*

giving rise to feuds. The truth is that the converts also are children of the State, and among them are not wanting good and worthy people; but they have been led away by false doctrines, and have relied on the missionary for support, with the result that they have committed many misdeeds. . . . The Throne is now exhorting every member of the Boxers to render patriotic service, and take up his part against the enemies of his country, so that the whole population may be of one mind. . . . All those among the converts who repent of their former errors, and give themselves up to the authorities, shall be allowed to reform, and their past shall be ignored. . . . As hostilities have now broken out between China and foreign nations, the missionaries of every country must be driven away at once to their own countries, so that they may not linger here and make trouble. But it is important that measures be taken to secure their protection on their journey."

The edicts of June had already secured the massacre of scores of missionaries. This of July saved a few lives in Honan, but many were massacred later than this.

The charges in these two edicts brought against missionaries are :—

1. Insulting the gods and sages.

2. The ill-feeling they stir up by Christianity between the converts and the people (though the "local authorities" are blamed for this).

3. Oppressing peaceful citizens.

4. Teaching the people false doctrines and getting them to rely on the missionary for support (? in disputes or lawsuits).

5. Making the people disloyal.

Seeing these charges were made so late in the day, and considering who were the men that made them, it is not worth while to discuss them. Some of them will be touched upon under other heads.

Some notice, too, may profitably be made here of the statements of some of the Chinese Ambassadors in foreign countries. We refer to Lo Fêng-Luh, the Chinese Minister in London; Wu ting-fang, in Washington; and Yang yu, in St. Petersburg. The *rôle* these men have played in the matter of the siege of the Legations is well known. That some of them were, in that matter, guilty of "dauntless mendacity," as Dr. Morrison affirmed, the language of the edicts has now made clear. The speech of Wu ting-fang at the parliament of religions in Chicago on Confucianism is remembered with grief by lovers of truth; Yang yu has taken upon himself to say, in a letter full of bitter *animus* against Christianity, concerning the native Christians, that "as a rule" their "conversion is used only as a mantle under which to defraud and damage their countrymen with impunity."

He affirms too that "the missionaries are detested, because their object is to make converts of us who are unwilling to exchange the religion delivered to

us by our fathers for any other." The obvious answer to this statement is: If they were "unwilling," they could not have become "converts"; and if "willing," then they were not *made* "converts," but *became* converts of their own free will.

Lo Fêng Luh's statement that[1] "there were *no* Chinese Christians at all, except here and there a worthless fellow, who had joined a mission for what he could get," is only to be equalled in its colossal ignorance by what he said in a speech at a dinner, given by foreigners to him at Tientsin on his appointment as Minister to Great Britain, that the assembled company were "*all* very good Confucianists."

The views of such men on missionaries and their work will not weigh much with discriminating men, though doubtless their popularity will, by such talk, be increased among those who hate missions.

We take it, then, that *as far as documentary evidence goes*, the theory that the uprising was due to the propagandism of missionaries cannot be sustained.

4. The action of Roman Catholic priests in lawsuits, and their assumption of civil rank.

That Roman Catholic priests (we would fain believe they are unworthy members of their fraternity only) have, through their action in the law-courts, caused justice to miscarry on behalf of some of their converts, and brow-beaten and even terrorized Chinese

[1] *C.M.S. Intelligencer*, p. 871, November, 1900.

officials, backed up by the political power of the French Minister, is, we fear, a report only too well founded.

As to their official status, Sir Thomas Sutherland, at the Annual Dinner of the China Association, held on November 7th, 1900, said :—

"He was certain that it had been a most ruinous and false step for any European Power to demand for its missionaries the recognition of their civil rank—a proceeding which had given serious cause of offence to the just prejudices of the Chinese people."

The statement was received with cheers.

It is true, report has it, Li Hung Chang has said, that the raising of Roman Catholic missionaries to the grade of officials is responsible for the Boxer outbreak. This is certainly not to be accepted. Nevertheless the Jesuits, in gaining the point, committed a huge and mischievous blunder. The claims of infallible Popes to universal supremacy as "king of kings," and the holders of the "double sword of ecclesiastical and secular power," *necessitate* their priests being political agents. The severe reverses suffered in the past over this very point avail not to teach them.

Rome never changes. She is slow to learn that "My kingdom is not of this world."

The action of the Romish missionaries in China is, we believe, creative of *friction*, over and beyond that friction which may be called inevitable and

legitimate; viz., that which is caused by the introduction into China of a more spiritual religion and a higher civilization.

And now as to Protestant missionaries. How far has the Government of China any just cause of grievance against them? Let the following quotation from an article in the *North China Herald* of October 17th, 1900, by Rev. W. A. Cornaby, supply an answer:—

"As a fact, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missionaries in China are two distinct classes, as indeed they are in the West, and would naturally be everywhere. And as they took different ground on the subject of 'missionary status,' so they adopt different standpoints generally, though happily with little personal feeling on perhaps either side. For in China a man's sympathies must either broaden or shrivel up, and a healthy broadening of sympathy, a cosmopolitan view of things, which need involve no sacrifice of principle, seems to be prevalent.

"But in a sympathetic article on two Jesuit martyrs of the sixteenth century, an Edinburgh Reviewer of some years back remarks that 'it became almost impossible, in legislating for the protection of the country, to distinguish between the papal religion and papal politics,' and the relation of Jesuit and other Fathers in China to the government of France does seem to be of a much closer nature than the relation of any Protestant

missionary to the government of his native land. Yet it is almost impossible, in the present stage of Chinese official knowledge, to distinguish between the Roman and Protestant systems, although the agents of the latter are certainly, as a class, innocent of any political propaganda whatever.

"And now for the burning question of the day, and of many a day to come: What share has the Protestant missionary (if we must regard him separately)—what share has he had in the long series of riots and this last great flare-up of 1900?

"First of all, inquiring reader, is your mind fully satisfied that official incitement has been a potent factor all along, and that the Empress Dowager did assuredly hold the high office of Supreme Boxer in 1900? If not, the only prescription for you is a month's hard reading-up, starting (say) with an article in *The Times*, 24th August, 1895. But should the evidence be found to be overwhelming on that point, we are at liberty to proceed with a quotation or two.

"An Ex-Deputy Commissioner of the Imperial Maritime Customs, R. M. Hobson, says, 'The average Chinese is not religious, and it is this absence of conviction that makes him the most tolerant man upon earth. But, though not religious, he is superstitious, and credulous of what his superiors tell him. His superiors are the *literati* (and mandarins are but *literati* in office), a class of scholars than whom no more bitterly

conservative people can be found anywhere. The popular hatred is not for the Christian teacher as such, but for the foreign devil in general, and for the immoral monster that scheming scholars have painted the missionary in particular.'

"With this the British Press of Shanghai will be found to agree, at any rate as far as three out of the four papers are concerned; the remaining paper agreeing in the main.

"Perhaps the fairest possible estimate of the whole situation has been made by Dr. Gracey, of New York, who says, 'The impact of the European civilizations on what we may for convenience call the Mongolian cannot be stopped. It is as certain to continue as gravitation. The friction will vary in acuteness, but the present generation, and the next, will not see the end of it. . . . It is well to put this down, not as a prediction, but as a recognised and necessary condition.

"'It is useless to blame missionaries for being agitators. They are part of the civilization. It is useless to plead, on the other hand, the popularity of the missionaries with the people, their inoffensiveness, their benevolence, their contribution to justice and humanitarianism, their elevation of the intelligence of the land. They are distinctly revolutionists.

"'But it is little use for anybody to think to secure pacification by the withdrawal of missionaries. A steam-engine and a telegraph-pole are

revolutionary; so is a newspaper. . . . They are only different parts of the same civilizing force. The anti-footbinding society, which the missionary fosters in China, is a part of the social revolution implied in a new civilization; so is his hospital.

"'The people of the secondary civilization are astute enough to discern that the missionary is a component part of the new economy. His family life, his very presence is revolutionary, and he cannot dissociate himself from the clash of the two civilizations.'"

Yet this presence, though "revolutionary" in the sense mentioned above, is by no means resented by enlightened officials; on the contrary it is appreciated, and the work of missionaries eulogized. In illustration of this we append a proclamation issued by the prefect of Nanking in 1895:—

"Now having examined the doctrine halls in every place pertaining to the prefecture, we find that there have been established free schools where the poor children of China may receive instruction; hospitals where Chinese may freely receive healing; that the missionaries are all really good: not only do they not take the people's possessions, but they do not seem to desire men's praise. Although the Chinese are pleased to do good, there are none who equal the missionaries."

The only spot we can lay our finger on, which can directly cause friction between the Protestant missionaries and the officials, is the non-payment

of temple taxes by converts. There is no doubt that the "ill-feeling between the converts and the people," referred to often in edicts, has a cause here. Yet here again we must be careful to get to the *root* of the matter. The lawful calling and position of both missionaries and converts, with the citizen rights of the latter, have been proclaimed by successive Imperial edicts, and are founded upon *treaty* obligation. By *treaty*, China tolerates Christianity, and absolves native Christians from the imposition of the idolatrous temple tax. These two, necessarily, stand or fall together. Proclamations are annually put out about the temple tax. What is really needed? It is the old, old story. China needs to *sincerely enter into the spirit of her treaty obligations.* In many parts of China, the matter of the temple tax causes no trouble. It causes trouble more especially in pioneer work—where Christianity is a novelty. Yet even in such work you only need to have a level-headed official, free from any particular anti-foreign bias, and practically no difficulty is experienced. However, it is particularly worthy of note that in the anti-missionary edict of July 2nd, 1900, issued by Prince Tuan and his coterie, in speaking of the "ill-feeling between the people and the converts," it says distinctly, "*All this is due to faulty administration on the part of the local authorities*" (see p. 45). If the officials would only carry out in the spirit of fairness *their own procla-*

mations, then even in the matter of the non-payment of the temple tax there should be no real cause for friction between the missionaries and them. The temple taxes, of course, have nothing to do with the revenue of the country. They are not government taxes. Nor is the money thus raised used in any way for the public good, such as making of roads, etc.; the money is, in theory, supposed to be spent in giving theatricals in honour of local deities, in reality it largely goes into the pockets of the headmen of villages. The non-payment of these taxes to the headmen by the converts is a fruitful source of petty, and sometimes serious persecution, which occasionally has to be brought to the law-courts for settlement. Protestant missionaries exhort their converts to *endure*; but if their converts are very badly brow-beaten, sometimes they make a friendly representation to the mandarin. It all depends on what sort of man he is. If a sensible man, the matter is easily settled. If an anti-foreign bigot, as some of the Manchus are, it is likely that the convert will not only have his rights ignored, but himself, Christians, and missionaries, openly lampooned and insulted in the public court. Officials such as these recognise no such thing as treaties. Where lies the fault in such cases?

An extract from a prescient article in the *North China Herald* of July 11th and 25th, 1900, written *before* the Boxer movement had reached to Peking,

may be here fittingly introduced, though some of it goes over old ground. The writer, in speaking of "the educated youth of modern China," says :—

"Light had dawned, and men began to see as they had never seen before. Many of the younger men had travelled. They had studied Empires whose existence had previously been as misty as the existence of the Yellow Emperor. America, Germany, France, Great Britain, and even Japan afforded a series of panoramic object lessons, of what foreign nations were, and of what they were doing, were thinking, were enjoying. In fact, young China "saw visions," and consequently began to "dream dreams." Young men returned from their travels, full of discontent with, and even contempt for, their own effete, blundering, lumbering Government, and determined to attempt radical reforms so as to bring China in line with the march of nations and the advance of ideas. Moreover, many books have been translated into Chinese during the last decade. These made it possible for readers who remained at home to look out upon the world as through field-glasses, and see more clearly than they had ever seen before the distinct personalities of foreign nations, the types of government by which they were ruled, the different religions which guided their moral conduct and inspired their pure and lofty lives, the systems of education that moulded their thought and prepared their minds for the battle of life, and the general happiness,

comfort and luxury that most of these foreign nations could command. Further, the new literature did not shrink from presenting to the minds of native scholars the moribund state of China, the poverty and ignorance of her people, the wooden education by which their minds had been cramped, the infinite brutality of her punishments, the rickety and lumbering movement of her Government, and the retrogade character of her mandarins.

"The more intelligent minds in Peking saw that a change must be effected. The Emperor flung himself into the current of new ideas, and the great and laudable attempt at Reform went well for a time.

"Presently the Conservative party arose as one man, and in sullen anger and dark forebodings quenched it in tears and blood. The *coup d'état* of the Empress and her party effected this. The martyrs of this abortive revolution were not many but illustrious."

He then goes on to speak of the Government-Boxer movement, first supposing it to be directed against missionaries only :—

"But, supposing it to be directed against missionaries only, then it is impossible that Foreign Powers shall not crush it out and destroy it root and branch. There may be a few Europeans who would gladly see the entire band of missionaries shipped out of China and sent home to their respective centres, but this will never be. English,

American, German and French missionaries are in China. The duty of exertion on behalf of the success of the mission movement is as deep-rooted in the conviction of the Christian world as is the conviction of the merchant that it is necessary to trade.

"Those who have read the reports of the great Conference on Missions, recently held in New York, in which thousands of missionaries and other delegates gathered from all parts of the world, and calmly discussed missionary problems and planned missionary enterprise, must see that the energy behind that meeting is a force that no earthly hand can hold in check. Ex-President Harrison, in his speech, said: 'I have taken part in the course of my long life in many political campaigns; I have often addressed political meetings in the hall (Carnegie Hall, which seats three thousand), but never have I known any political campaign, never have I known any cause whatever, but this cause of Foreign Missions, which could fill this hall twice or thrice a day for ten days with such enthusiastic audiences.' No, if it rests between the presence of Foreign Missions in China and the existence of the Boxers, then the Boxers must go, because the force that moves forward and animates the cause of Foreign Missions is ten times more powerful than the energy which has called this rebellious crowd into being.

"But suppose this savage crowd is directed not only against missions and missionaries, but also

against modern progress and civilization, and all that these stand for, the appeal for its suppression is, if possible, yet more loud and imperative. Merchants are in China to stay; so are engineers and railway builders, and diplomats and travellers. No power on earth can stop them from coming, or expel them before they elect to depart. Their being here is a part and parcel of the widening of modern commercial and international life.

"But suppose the hatred of the Boxer is directed against the Reform movement; suppose the Boxers have convinced themselves that the Reform movement spells the ruin of China; suppose they have attacked Europeans because they believe that the latter are responsible, either directly or indirectly, for this Reform; suppose they believe that were Europeans killed or driven out of China, the Reform movement would die and this country be saved, what then? The same course must enter China, and nothing can stop it. As well might a dead tree out-grow a living one and its right to live, as that the effete system of government and moribund religion of China shall hold their place against the purer forms of government, and more spiritual types of religion, now pressing in upon them."

We conclude this chapter by borrowing the language of another, used concerning a different entity[1] (the *identity* of which is not hard to discover).

[1] Mackenzie, *Nineteenth Century*, pp. 439, 448.

China, in this late conflict, "has announced irreconcilable hostility to the spirit and impulses which are the peculiar glory of the age. She has placed the stamp of her preference upon the imperfect development of an earlier time. She has condemned Heaven's great law of progress—of advancement from a lower level of cultivation and well-being to a higher—and sought to lay enduring arrest upon its operation. She has broken with the 19th Century, and declared her antagonism to all its maxims, its aims and its achievements. She has entered on a mortal contest with forces which are universal, ineradicable, irresistible. She has undertaken to arrest and turn back the mightiest power upon the earth. She has announced resistance to the laws of Providence—silent, patient, but undeviating. Nothing less than shameful defeat can result from such an enterprise. If China is unable to reconcile herself to Christian civilization, her decline and fall are inevitable."

Chapter XII

RELIGION IN CHINA

DR. BENJAMIN KIDD, in his interesting and suggestive book, *Social Evolution*,[1] imagines a denizen of another world paying a visit to this planet, for the object of inquiring into our social organizations. After noticing the outward features—streets, crowds, buildings, means of communication, etc., he inquires into matters of commerce, government, and various social and political problems. His instructor, however, fails to give him information on *one* "most obvious feature" of our life: "That at every turn in our cities, there are great buildings—churches, temples, cathedrals—and that wherever men dwelt, some such buildings were erected." Dr. Kidd supposes his instructor to be a spokesman for science, and as such, possessed of a judicial mind, he would be prepared to weigh and note *all* phenomena, *spiritual* phenomena included. To his surprise, he finds his instructor regarded the whole subject of religion "with some degree of contempt, and even of bitterness"; and, to quote Dr. Kidd in another passage,[2] the visitant

[1] Pages 89–91. [2] Page 23.

must have found it "hard to follow" this scientist "in his theories of the development of religious beliefs from ghosts and ancestor worship" (not to speak of religion being a species of nervous disease —neurosis!) "without a continual feeling of disappointment, and even of impatience, at the triviality and comparative insignificance of the explanations offered to account for the development of such an imposing class of social phenomena."

Dr. Kidd, after some striking remarks on the conflict between reason and religion, shows in Chapter V. "the functions of religion."

He points out that science belongs to the domain of the intellect, religion to that of the heart; that mankind may be looked at from two main points of view—that of the *individual*, and collectively as *a social organism*. The interests of these two entities are necessarily antagonistic, the one being private and selfish, the other public and for the general good.

Religion comes in to secure the subordination of the interest of the individual units to the larger interests of the social organism.

But in order to effect this, religion must be clothed with adequate sanctions of reward and punishment. These sanctions must in the nature of the case be super-natural and ultra-rational. *Reason*, pure and simple, would never lead individual units to give up their self-assertiveness. The sphere, therefore, of religion is not the reason of man. A

that land in a sympathetic manner, would thus address them: "In speaking to you of the Living and True God, we are not telling you of some Being which China has never known; we are rather telling you of One whom your ancestors, the founders of your nation knew and worshipped, but Whom their descendants have departed from."

With such a reverence for "antiquity," as is fostered by the Chinese classics, it will be easily seen that such a way of approaching the scholars of China is at once conciliatory and advantageous.

The question is, however, whether such a statement of the case may not be *misleading*.

This must, of course, mainly be settled by reference to the Chinese classics. And as these missionaries give the foundation of their views from these sources, they may be easily examined.

We will select two scholars of the first degree of eminence—Dr. Legge, translator of the Chinese classics, and Dr. Ernst Faber, the author of *Western Civilization* (in Chinese). We will first mention, by way of explanation, that the terms "Ti" ("ruler" or "god"), "Shang-Ti" ("supreme ruler" or "supreme god"), and "T'ien" ("heaven") (in the passages where something deeper than the visible sky is meant) are used interchangeably in the classics.

Let us first hear Dr. Faber.

In his *Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius*, he thus sums up his opinion as to the meaning of T'ien ("Heaven"):—

[1] "We may perhaps gather from this that the Chinese mind is unable to comprehend a personification, other than the human, and that Heaven, in spite of all theistic contacts, is still far removed from the Christian God."

And again: "The expression T'ien (Heaven) would then be totally inadmissible as a designation of the Christian God."

In the next chapter[2] he discusses the term Shang-Ti ("supreme ruler," or "supreme god"), which Dr. Faber holds to be the equivalent of (the Christian) God. This, however, is to be particularly observed. He bases his opinion on *one* passage in the classics, which is the *only* passage where Confucius himself uses these characters—"Shang-Ti." It runs: "By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served Shang-Ti." Dr. Faber adds: "A nearer determination of the nature of God, Shang-Ti, is, according to the sources before us, not possible."

Dr. Legge argues precisely in the same way.[3] In speaking of the worship of Heaven and Earth, Dr. Legge says: "There[4] was a danger of its leading to serious misconception concerning the oldest religious ideas and worship of the nation—a danger which Confucius himself happily came in to

[1] Page 48. [2] Page 49.

[3] Dr. Legge, however, holds that "Heaven" certainly means the true God, which Dr. Faber denies.

[4] *The Religions of China*, p. 31.

avert. We have from him the express statement that "the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth are those by which we serve Shang-Ti." "The worship offered in them was to the one and same God."

Professor Max Müller quotes Dr. Legge's sentiments, here given, with approval in the article mentioned above.

The worship of "Heaven and Earth" is absolutely universal in China. The grandest instance of the worship is that performed by the Emperor. At the winter solstice he worships at the round altar of Heaven, and at the summer solstice he worships at the square altar of Earth, earth being square according to Chinese orthodoxy.

In either case the visible object of worship is an upright tablet of wood. On Heaven's altar tablet are the characters :—

"Hwang T'ien Shang-Ti chï wei" ("Imperial Heaven Shang-Ti's throne").

On Earth's altar tablet are the characters :—

"Hou T'u Ti-Ch'i chï wei" ("Sovereign Ground Earth—Deity's throne").

Now Shang-Ti may be accurately called the *personal name* of the Spirit of Heaven; and Hou T'u the *personal name* of the Spirit of Earth.

In a passage about Shang-Ti in the Book of Rites, it refers to him as "the Spirit of Heaven" (Book ix., Sect. ii. 7); and in a passage about Hou T'u, also in the Book of Rites (xx. 9) it refers to

him (? her) as "the Spirit of the ground," or earth. Compare (ix., Sect. i. 21) "In the sacrifice at the *shê* altar, they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit"—the "*shê*" altar is the altar to Earth.

Summing up the argument so far, we note that two of the best *Christian* Chinese scholars assert that the Shang-Ti of the Chinese classics is the true God; and, moreover, they base that assertion upon one saying of Confucius, to wit:—

"By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served Shang-Ti."

That the view of these gentlemen is strongly opposed by other Christian scholars will not, perhaps, weigh much. We present, what seems to us, a far more weighty consideration, viz.: the opinion of the best *native* scholars.

1. Two of China's greatest commentators, one of whom is Chu Hsi, "the prince of literature," entirely dissent from the views of Dr. Legge and Dr. Faber concerning the important passage quoted above: "By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served Shang-Ti." They both say, "Hou T'u (that is, the Spirit of Earth) is not mentioned for sake of brevity." According to them the passage should read:—

"By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served Shang-Ti and Hou T'u."

According, then, to the best *Chinese* scholars, this celebrated passage does not support monotheism. But note further:—

2. The persons who are referred to by "they," are King Wu and the Duke of Chou. And if we hunt up the *Book of History*, to find whom they *did* worship, we find the following sentences by King Wu himself:—

"Heaven and earth are the father and mother of all creatures; and of all creatures, man is the most highly endowed."

Lower down, King Wu speaks of the tyrannies of Shou (B.C. 1154). This tyrant was the last ruler of the Hsia dynasty, and was overthrown by King Wu, the founder of the Shang dynasty.

The following is the language King Wu uses of him:—

"He sits squatting on his heels, not serving GOD (Shang-Ti), nor the Spirits of Heaven and Earth."

The above is Legge's translation.

Legge, however, is obliged to add in his notes:—

The Daily Explanation (*i.e.* a Commentary by a Chinese scholar) translates: "he slights and contemns the Spirits of Heaven and Earth, and renders not service to them." Then Legge adds: "This would confound GOD with the Spirits of Heaven and Earth, *which is by no means inconceivable in Wu, when we consider the language of page* 3"; that is, the language of Wu quoted above: "Heaven and Earth are the father and mother of all creatures."

Then lastly, King Wu says, "I have received charge from my deceased father, Wen; I have

offered special sacrifice to Shang-Ti; I have performed the due services to the *Great Earth.*"

On the words "Great Earth," Legge, in his note, says the words mean "the altar dedicated *to the great Spirit of the Earth.*" [The italics are ours.]

About King Wen, the father of King Wu, Legge has this note on Wu's saying that "Heaven and Earth are the father and mother of all creatures": "There can be no doubt that *the deification of Heaven and Earth,* which appears in the text, took its rise from the *Book of Changes,* of which King Wen may be properly regarded as the author."

Dr. Legge maintains that "the deification of Heaven and Earth took its rise in the time of King Wen," who lived in the 13th century B.C. Still it is important to note that Heaven and Earth were worshipped before that time. In the announcement of T'ang (B.C. 1766) King T'ang says: "You protested with one accord your innocence to the Spirits of Heaven and Earth." And his grandson and successor, T'ai Chia, speaks thus of his grandfather: "The former king maintained the worship of the Spirits of Heaven and Earth."

This in the 18th century B.C. is a case of dual worship, and where do we get pure monotheism? Even if we take the *very first passage* where "Shang-Ti" occurs in the classics, we read of Shun (2255 B.C.): "He sacrificed specially to Shang-Ti, sacrificed reverently to the Six Honoured Ones, offered appropriate sacrifices to the

hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits."

On this Legge adds the note: "I cannot doubt but 'Shang-Ti' is here the name of the true God; but the truth concerning Him and His worship *had been perverted even in this early time*, as appears from the other clauses in the paragraph."

It is important also to remember that the religion of the Bible is not "pure monotheism," but Jehovahism, which is a different conception. A Deism which includes plurality of persons in the Godhead is the doctrine of *Scripture* from Genesis i. to Revelation xxii.

And then to bring to a climax Dr. Legge's argument that the Chinese have always known and worshipped the true GOD, at any rate the Emperor of China has, "who worships GOD as the people's representative," we get[1] prayers offered to Shang-Ti in the year A.D. 1538—the 16th century of our Christian era!

We might surely have had something a little earlier. The prayers given are on pages 43-51.[2] They contain a lot of borrowed Christian thought. After giving the prayers, Dr. Legge adds:—

"I will not multiply words to try and increase the impression which these prayers must have made upon your minds. The *original monotheism* of the Chinese remains in the state worship of to-day.

[1] *Religions of China*, pp. 43, 95.
[2] *Ibid.*

. . . All semblances of an uncertain polytheism were swept away from the Imperial worship soon after the middle of our fourteenth century, immediately on the rise of the Ming dynasty, whose statutes have supplied us with a series of such remarkable prayers. We may deplore, as we do deplore, the superstitious worship of a multitude of spirits, terrestrial and celestial, that finds a place in them; *but this abuse does not obscure the monotheism.*"

Then referring to the same prayers in another place,[1] Dr. Legge says: "You remember the prayers, at the great solstitial service of the Ming dynasty—how it was said in them that all the numerous tribes of living beings are indebted to GOD for their beginning; that it is He alone, the Lord, who is the true parent of all things, that he made heaven and earth and men. Most of us were acquainted, I suppose, at one time, with what is called *The First Catechism*, by Dr. Watts.

"The first question in it is 'Can you tell me, child, who made you?' A Chinese child, *familiar with those prayers*, would be likely to answer in the very words of Dr. Watts: 'The great God who made heaven and earth.'"

To sum the whole argument up, it seems to rest on these two dogmas:—

1. An interpretation of a certain saying of Con-

[1] Page 95.

fucius, which the two best *Chinese* commentators have never thought of.

2. That certain prayers offered in 1538 A.D. contain unadulterated *Chinese* thought. Though it is well known that the Chinese Court (who are not above being plagiarists!) have been familiar with Christianity in its Nestorian form since A.D. 643, and in its Roman Catholic form since A.D. 1288! No doubt the reader will not be surprised to hear that we have seen the writing of a young Chinese scholar, saying: "Dr. Legge understood our classics better than we Chinese scholars do!" And when we remember Hu, a recent Governor of Shan-si, maintained that all the roots of Western learning were to be found in the *Book of Changes*, we can conceive it possible that if Confucius were to meet the good and learned translator of the Chinese classics he would *hide* from Dr. Legge his indebtedness to him; that whereas he said of himself, "I am a transmitter and not an *originator*," he had (by the Doctor's process of reading Christian thought into words where it did not at first exist) become such an *original thinker*, as to propound the doctrine, that "by the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth (which Christians would call idolatry), certain ancient kings *served* Jehovah God"—for such Dr. Legge distinctly stated to be the meaning of "Shang-Ti."

The spirit of generosity and fair play, which is so happily characteristic of the British nation, may

be carried (at any rate, the former virtue) too far. This has been illustrated in the South African war, where loyal people have sometimes been treated worse than the disloyal. It is so too in matters of religion. The heathen systems of religion, from being spoken of by Christians in no other strain than that of contempt and ridicule, have, very much through the study of "comparative religion," been raised to such a pinnacle, that some ministers are barely satisfied with a sermon unless it contains a quotation from Confucius, Buddha, or Zoroaster.

That there are many passages in the classics that speak of "Heaven" and "Shang-Ti" as Providence, and use language about these terms which involves ideas of personality and will, is undoubtedly true; it is equally true, too, of "Earth."

We would not deny that the sovereigns of China, prior to the thirteenth century (? eighteenth century) B.C., held "Shang-Ti" in some kind of supreme reverence, and that, *in a relative sense*, they "knew God." The Scripture says of the Gentiles that "*knowing* God they glorified Him not as God" (Rom. i. 21); on the other hand, we read of "the Gentiles which *know not* God" (1 Thess. iv. 6). It seems plain from this that the "knowledge" of the heathen nations of God was necessarily faulty and relative. It consisted of such an *approximation* of the knowledge of the true God, as could be gained from the ideas expressed by the highest objects of worship in their various pantheons. With the

Greeks, it was Zeus; with the Hindoos, Brahma; with the Romans, Jupiter; with the Chinese, Heaven, Shang-Ti, or later "Heaven *and* Earth"; for we would draw particular attention to Dr. Legge's admission that "no doubt Heaven and Earth were deified in China in the thirteenth century B.C."

The Roman Catholic Church, in China, has absolutely rejected the terms "Heaven" and "Shang-Ti" as predicating God.

Where we fear *misconception* will arise, is that Chinese scholars and readers of *the Sacred Books of the East* will be led to believe that the Shang-Ti of the Chinese classics is *absolutely identical* with Jehovah God — the Self-existent One; and not understand that the identity is only *relative*, and the language *approximate*.

To come to present-day China, we would not hesitate to quote some of the classical sayings about "Heaven" and "Shang-Ti" to the scholars, and in speaking to yokels employ the common term "Grandfather Heaven"—albeit there is the inevitable "Grandmother Earth"—as approximate terms, or at any rate the best native terms, for "God" to the heathen Chinese; in point of fact, *any* term needs explanation.

We should consider it equivalent to the action of St. Paul on Mars Hill. When he told the Athenians, "As certain of your own poets have said, 'For we are also his offspring'" (Acts xvii. 28), he was using

words which were said by a heathen poet of Zeus (or Jupiter)—the head of the Greek (or Roman) pantheon. Under such circumstances quotations may be legitimate and productive of good. But Paul would certainly not have been prepared, after being instrumental in healing the cripple at Lystra, when "the priest of Jupiter brought oxen and garlands, and would have done sacrifice to them," to have used such language then. Most definite language was needed to remove misapprehension, and he used it. "We bring you good tidings, that ye should turn from *these vain things* unto the living God, who made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all that in them is" (Acts xiv. 13, 14). It is one thing to quote passages about "Heaven" to the Chinese, and quite another thing to do as Dr. Legge did, to go to the Temple of Heaven in Peking and there "sing the Doxology in honour of the True God who had been worshipped by the Emperors of China for four millenniums"! He did it no doubt out of the fulness of his generous heart, but we fancy in doing so his feelings ran away with his judgment.

The God we read of in Genesis i. 1, who is both *antecedent to*, and *independent of*, heaven and earth, will, we believe, not be found in the classics. The Chinese conceptions are, we believe, fundamentally lacking. A Church member of ours overheard some Chinese discussing the religions of Christianity and Confucianism. A well-read man made the follow-

ing extraordinary remark: "Christianity and Confucianism are exactly the same, they only differ in that which is radical and fundamental"! (Ye-su chiao ho Ru chiao shï i yang-yang-tih, chï shï ken pen puh t'ung.) Logic which was "*ultra*-rational," to say the least of it!

To our mind the matter may be compared to the two astronomical theories of Ptolemy and Copernicus: the one fundamentally defective, the other equally right. In both systems the heavens are the heavens; the *conceptions*, however, are radically different. Now a man who believes that the earth is the centre of all things and the hub of the universe, may yet be able to distinguish between stars and planets, note down eclipses, map out the heavens, give stars their names, and so on. Yet who would think of holding on to the Ptolemaic system, when the Copernican is made known? So it is with the various systems of religion. Religions there are many, one only possesses valid claims to the title of *revelation*. Of the "first and greatest commandment," which the Founder of Christianity imposes upon His followers, Confucianism has not so much as the conception; for, to quote Dr. Faber, "Confucianism recognises no relation to a living God."

And though it is readily admitted, that, in the doctrines of Confucius concerning the relation of man to man, there is much in the *language* which is excellent, yet, in Confucianism, the "human rela-

tions" have not their *basis* in the Divine relation of man to God; there is no help of the Holy Spirit promised to enable us to live up to what we know we should be; that which is *life-giving* and "fundamental" is lacking; it is, after all, but the Ptolemaist, noting down eclipses, and giving the stars their names.

Chapter XIII

CHINA'S NEED OF TRUE RELIGION

WE believe that the most spiritual writers in the various sections of the Christian Church would agree that the object of Christianity is the restoration in man of the Divine Image, that its essence consists in perfect disinterested love—that is, loving God for what He is, and loving man *as* man—and that this state of heart follows upon forgiveness through the atoning blood of Christ, and is brought about and maintained by the indwelling and perpetual inspiration of the Spirit of Christ.

True religion, then, is love. It is benevolence. Begotten of the Spirit of God, it resides in the spirit, the heart, the will, the choices and the preferences of man. It consists in choosing the good and happiness of all sentient being. It proposes this most valuable end as the object of its aim. This end, too, must be sought, without having in view any ulterior benefit that may accrue to self in pursuing it, but *disinterestedly*. It demands that each should value the interests of all according to their perceived relative importance in the scale of

being. In the language of the law and the prophets, sanctioned by the authority and approval of the Saviour of the world, it consists in loving God supremely and our neighbour as ourselves. This is *absolute religion*, this is *true religion*. All religions, other than this, are *relative*, and therefore comparatively wrong, defective, and false. This is the religion which has produced the saintliest lives on earth, and is at the back of those marvellous benevolent activities, which exist on a scale in Christian countries incontestably greater than in those countries where Christianity is unknown, even in those countries where "benevolence" or "love" is within the circle of their doctrines, for their love is a different conception from Christian love. It has a different basis, a different scope, a different consummation.

In a touching passage in the life of the late Professor Huxley by his son, we have the following words, which throw light on the inner life of that remarkable man. We quote from memory, but the passage is to this effect. He says: "Love showed me the sanctity of life, and I saw that true religion might exist without theology." But if true religion consists in benevolence, and therefore actively willing the good of all being, we must hold that religion to be sadly defective which leaves out of count the great and glorious intelligent First Cause, who is Himself the Author and Preserver of being. Who would call that a good system of politics which,

while admitting the obligation that good citizens were under to will the good of their fellow-citizens, ignored the truth that they were under supreme obligation (supreme, because of his relative importance in the scale of being) to extend that goodwill to the Chief of State?

Dr. Arthur Smith has, in his *Chinese Characteristics*, a most excellent chapter on "Pantheism, Polytheism and Atheism." We advise every reader who can do so to purchase that book, and "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" the contents of that chapter. We do not think the outcome of the process will be, after reading it, that any will advise missionaries to give up their work in China, *because* "China has a very good religion of its own."

This is a sentiment that may be adopted by some who read the *Sacred Books of the East*, and, having read vols. iii., xvi., xxvii. and xxviii. of that series, imagine that present-day China corresponds to them, as face answers to face in the looking-glass.

The present-day state of religion in China is sad in the extreme. As worshippers of Heaven, earth, sun, moon, stars, thunder, rain, wind, mountains, hills, rivers and trees, they are plainly Pantheists, confounding God with Nature.

As worshippers of deceased Chinese who have been deified, and worshippers of ancestors, they are Polytheists. All the "gods" which the Chi-

nese worship are simply Chinese who have passed from this earth. There are "gods" in China which minister directly to vice; the gambler, the harlot, the thief have their "deities"—patrons of their modes of life—by the worship of which these evil-doers expect to increase their profits.

But, speaking generally, the "gods" are men who in the past have been famous as heroes, statesmen, philanthropists, or women celebrated for domestic virtue. Missionaries are blamed sometimes for attacking the worship of "gods" and ancestors. Like most calumnies, there is truth in the statement, and falsehood too. The word "worship" has, as we all know, gradations of meaning. No missionary would dream of attacking the worship of "gods" and ancestors in the sense of *reverencing* them, that is, holding in their reverent memory the departed ones who are worthy of it. We *do* point out, however, that they should not be "worshipped" in the sense of *offering sacrifice to* them, for this involves the ideas that the living are dependent on the dead, and the dead on the living, which are false sentiments—sentiments which open the door to priestcraft, and which are above all things hurtful to the progress and real good of the people.

And then, again, the scholars of China are, in our sense of the word, Atheists. How they have become so is as follows:—

We have pointed out in the previous chapter that

"Heaven" is often used in the classics with the ideas of personality and will attached to it.

For instance, there are such sayings as these:—

"Should I deceive Heaven?"

"He who offends Heaven has no one to whom he can pray."

"There is Heaven" (said Confucius): "it knows me." Again he says, "Heaven begot the virtue that is in me."

And a disciple says, "Heaven is going to use the Master as an alarm bell to awaken the age," etc., etc.

In the twelfth century of the Christian era there arose a certain school of philosophers in China, the most eminent among whom was Chu-hsi. He composed a commentary on the classics. It was adopted by the Government of the day, and has down to the present time been held to be the orthodox exposition of the Sacred Books of the Chinese. The scholars of China have not only to commit the text of the classics to memory, but also Chu-hsi's commentary, the natural consequence being that he has been the moulder of thought of the Chinese *literati* for generations, and his influence is paramount. He was a thorough-going materialistic Atheist. In his commentary on the word Heaven he says, "Heaven is principle," which all will see is an Atheistic exposition of the word, for we can attach no ideas of either personality or will to it. And by this commen-

tary he has led the scholars of China into sheer Atheism, the outcome being deterioration of conscience and consequent national decline.

We cannot here forbear from making a note on this notorious saying of Chu-hsi.

One of England's most celebrated preachers, in a sermon on "Heaven," refers to this saying. It is sandwiched between two other definitions of Heaven: "Heaven means holiness"; "Heaven means principle"; "Heaven means to be one with God." To the central clause he adds the footnote, "This is one of the finest sayings of Confucius."

The whole sermon is admirable, eloquent and helpful. It insists on the truth that, if Heaven is a "place," much more is it a "state"—*i.e.* of holy heart and mind. But this footnote is unfortunate. That "Heaven is principle" is not the saying of Confucius, but of his degenerate disciple, who lived some 1,500 years and more after him. Chu-hsi was using the term "Heaven" in a Chinese sense, the preacher in a Christian. Instead of being a fine saying, it has done untold mischief, and is largely accountable (if not wholly so) for leading the scholars of China from the comparative light of an imperfect theism into the darkness and consequent degradation of blank Atheism.

That the Chinese are Pantheists, Polytheists and Atheists is a fact as well known to missionaries as it is known to the public that they eat with chopsticks. The fact is, as we have said, sad; more

sad, however, is the attitude of the people to their objects of worship.

Dr. Arthur Smith has dealt with this in a masterly way. He says, most truly: "The relation of the Chinese to their objects of worship is characterised by insincerity"—his words are to that effect—and we would add, and by irreverence too. All who have lived in interior China are familiar with the facts that the Chinese try to *deceive* their "gods," and *punish* their effigies, when sometimes the "gods" are obstinate in their non-compliance to the requests of their worshippers. All this involves "insincerity" and "irreverence" of a high degree indeed! These two evils are far, far-reaching in their effects, and are utterly subversive of morality—if, indeed, in China "morality" and "religion" have any vital connection, which is questionable.

We naturally become assimilated in character with the objects of our worship. One of the great ethical values of Christianity is that in the worship of a Supreme Being, possessed of every natural and moral perfection, the very contemplation of such an One is necessarily elevating; and the deeper the intercourse is carried, the more do we become imbued with His Spirit and transformed into His likeness. Let, however, but the least insincerity or irreverence be introduced, and the foundations of religion are destroyed.

If there be but sincerity and reverence, then even should the objects of worship be imaginative and

unreal, the harm done is comparatively small. But what amount of moral harm must accrue, if to objects of worship that are unreal there be offered worship which is insincere and irreverent!

And, yet further, the motives that prompt the Chinese to their worship are, if not selfish, slavish.

The Christian worships God, not primarily that he may get something by it, or for any moral good that may come to him reflexly by the act; but disinterestedly, because he regards God to be worthy of his homage and adoration.

But stand in a Chinese temple, and hear the prayers of the people to their "gods." If you don't hear language which does not involve the principle of a "bargain," or betoken abject and slavish fear, we should be surprised.

In religion, as now practised in China, there is nothing morally, much less spiritually, uplifting.

Just so sure as the office of education is to "lead out" and develop the intelligence, so sure also the function of religion is to sanctify the heart. If the one is meant to make men *clever*, the other is meant to make men *good*. China suffers terribly from the want of real education, and of true religion, but our remarks here are confined to the latter. Now it is an historical fact that the motives and sanctions which Christianity supplies have been productive of pure hearts and saintly lives on a scale not to be approached by any other religion. The holiness produced differs not only in *degree* but also in *kind*.

We make no apology for Christianity. Wherever fairly applied, it has "by its fruits" proved its Divine origin. It is a key which fits all locks, however intricate the wards thereof. The appalling need of China, revealed to the whole world in these last few months, has but a single root—*the want of true religion.* Christianity is the complement of that need, and the only complement, but to meet the need it should be a Christianity which is both *simple* and *scriptural.*

When the Founder of Christianity sent forth St. Paul on his life work as an apostle to the Gentiles, He addressed him in these memorable words :—

"The Gentiles, unto whom I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Me" (Acts xxvi. 17, 18).

Here is simplicity! Remission of sins and holiness of heart through faith in and union with Christ. Oh, what a Gospel for China, and the bad rulers of China! Oh, strong simplicity, to take the place of the complexity of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism promiscuously jumbled into one!

But should we throw stones who live in glass houses? Are not some of our Church organizations, doctrines, and practices far too complex?

What shall we say to these remarks of the Roman Catholic Cardinal Vaughan ?

"The doctrines of the Catholic Church, which had been rejected and condemned as being blasphemous, superstitious and fond inventions, have been re-examined and taken back, one by one, until the Thirty-nine Articles have been banished and buried as a rule of faith. The real presence, the sacrifice of the mass, offered for the living and the dead—sometimes even in Latin—not infrequent reservation of the sacrament, regular auricular confession, extreme unction, purgatory, prayers for the dead, devotions to Our Lady, to her immaculate conception, the use of the rosary and the invocation of saints, are doctrines taught and accepted, with a growing desire and relish for them, in the Church of England. A celibate clergy, the institution of monks and nuns under vows, retreats for clergy, missions for the people, fasting and other penitential exercises—candles, lamps, incense, crucifixes, images of the Blessed Virgin and the saints held in honour, stations of the cross, cassocks, cottas, Roman collars, birettas, copes, dalmatics, vestments, mitres, croziers, the adoption of an ornate Catholic ritual, and, now recently, an elaborate display of the whole ceremonial of the Catholic Pontifical—all this speaks of a change and a movement towards the Church that would have appeared absolutely incredible at the beginning of this century."

If we would grasp conclusions, we must first trace

premises. There are two large bodies of Christians which, having adopted different premises, necessarily arrive at different conclusions.

The premises we refer to are those concerning *tradition.*

Our Lord when on earth had 1,500 years of Jewish Church history behind Him. However, His ultimate court of appeal (as regards writings) was always to the Scriptures, and He ever spoke of the "traditions" in language of disparagement, if not of contempt. One body of Christians feel the same in regard to Christian Church history, as our Lord to Jewish. As far as documents are concerned, their ultimate appeal is to the Scriptures, especially the New Testament. They are aware that the New Testament speaks of "tradition" in an honourable way (1 Cor. xi. 2; 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6); but they hold that, however tradition may sometimes go beyond the letter of Scripture, at any rate it can never leave its *spirit*, its *scope*, or its *principles.* Christian tradition that does this, they despise as heartily as the Master the "traditions" of the Jews.

There is, however, another large body of Christians who adopt as a premise that "tradition" is of equal authority with the Scripture.

The Council of Trent, with that genius for and energy of malediction, which is so characteristic of Rome's utterances, pronounces those "accursed" who deny that "tradition" is of equal authority with Scripture.

Now, not to make too long a digression, let us take one subject—that of the sacrificial priesthood. What does Scripture make of it in the New Testament? Dean Farrar points out the following facts in his book, *The Bible and the Ministry*. He says:

1. "We find that though the New Testament is full of accounts of Christian ministers, the name of '*hiereus*,' or 'sacrificing priest,' is *never once* applied to them. Surely this alone should be decisive to every plain mind.

2. "It would be an absurdity to suppose that the *one* name which Romanists and Ritualists apply to Christian ministers, and regard as so important, should be exactly the *one* name which the New Testament resolutely and deliberately refuses them.

3. "We all know that the New Testament does apply ten other names to Christian ministers of every class, and never once even strays into this name of '*hiereis*' or 'sacrificing priests.' It calls them apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, ministers, overseers, presbyters, deacons, stewards.

4. "And that the refusal of the name 'sacrificing priests' to the Christian presbyters was deliberate is transparently obvious, from the fact that this name '*hiereus*' was the very one which lay most easily and obviously at hand. For the ancient world was full of sacrificing priests, and of sacrificing priests only. The only priests of the pagan world were sacrificing priests. The only priests among the Jews were sacrificing priests.

5. "But even that is not all. As though to prove decisively that there was a deep reason for not giving the title '*hiereis*' to Christian ministers, the word *is* used of Christians as a whole, but *not* of ministers. St. Peter, in a secondary and metaphorical sense (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9), twice calls *all Christians* 'a sacrificial priesthood,' but to prevent any mistake, he adds that the only sacrifices they can offer are '*spiritual* sacrifices.'"

These "sacrifices" we find to be from Scripture:

i. The presenting of our bodies for God's service (Rom. xii. 1).

ii. Almsgiving (Phil. iv. 18).

iii. Praise (Heb. xiii. 15).

iv. Doing good and having Christian fellowship (Heb. xiii. 16).

But all this simple and Scriptural teaching has been changed by Rome; who, not satisfied with "cursing" those that hold that tradition is not of equal authority with Scripture, "makes void" the latter by the former. Rome holds her "priests" to be a particular class, a sacerdotal *caste*; and when the Pope, prompted by Cardinal Vaughan, gave out that "Anglican orders" were null and void, one of the chief reasons for him saying so, was that "at the Reformation the English Church took the ground that her ministers were not sacrificing priests."

If we reject tradition, and appeal to the New Testament, we find:—

1. There is *no* such office in the Christian ministry as "*priest.*"

2. There is *no* "*altar*" on earth except the Cross of Christ (Heb. xiii. 10–12). In the Gospel (John xiii. 28) we find Christ reclined at a "*table,*" when He instituted the Lord's supper; and, in the Epistle (1 Cor. x. 21) we find Christians at "the Lord's *table*" in commemorating His death.

3. There is *no* atoning "*sacrifice*" except that of Christ, which we are told over and over again was offered "once," "once for all" (Heb. vii. 27; ix. 26, 28; x. 10; 1 Pet. iii. 18). *This sacrifice can never be repeated.* It is not a "mass," but a "*supper,*" both at its inception (John xiii. 2) and also subsequently—"the Lord's *supper*" (1 Cor. xi. 20). On such impregnable Scripture grounds do those stand who oppose sacerdotalism.

On the other hand, sacerdotalists maintain:—

1. The Christian minister (of the second degree) is a "priest."

2. He has his "altar" in the chancels of churches.

3. He offers on it the propitiatory "sacrifice" of the mass.

This is simply tradition as *opposed* to Scripture.

It is important to point out that Cardinal Vaughan's words are only possibly true as regards one section of the Church of England, which, for a better name, we will call the *Italian* party as opposed to the *English* party. The one asserts, the other utterly repudiates, sacerdotalism. Still, it is

indeed to be wished that some of the expressions in the official documents of the said Church were less ambiguous. Take this one word, "priest." Dean Farrar has done the cause of truth most splendid service when, in speaking as an English Christian, he proves that the Church of England at the time of the Reformation repudiated sacerdotalism. However, when he refers to this calamitous word, he says, "Everybody knows that the word *priest* simply means *presbyter*, and nothing more"; this language reminds us of Macaulay, who, in his *Essays*, is so fond of the phrase, "Every schoolboy knows." These words are usually connected with some recondite name or matter of which we suppose very many, other than "schoolboys," are wholly ignorant. At the time of the Reformation, no doubt the leaders of the Protestant party asserted that "priest" meant "presbyter"; and the clergy of the English party in the Church still maintain this. But does the Dean mean to affirm that "everybody"—even if we confine the word to Churchmen—that "everybody knows that 'priest' is 'presbyter'"? Are all Churchmen aware that the "absolution" is only to be read by an "*elder*," and that, after all, "priest's orders" are nothing more than "*elder's* orders"? We suppose there are multitudes in the Church of England who no more know that "priest" and "presbyter" or "elder" are identical terms, than they know that *blue* is the same as *yellow*. And, what is worse, a word that has to be thus explained

by the English party, is a battle-cry of the Italian party, who use it in the *exact* sense that both Scripture and the English party *dissent* from and *protest* against.

Now the only thing that makes all this relevant to the title of the chapter is that the logical outcome of holding sacerdotal views is to turn *Rome-ward.* And Popish Christianity is so inseparably mixed up with *politics,* that we affirm that it is impossible for a Romish "priest" to accept what his Church calls "Catholic doctrine" and the principles which underlie the bulls, encyclical letters, and decrees of *infallible* Popes without being in heart, if not in practice, *a political agent.* He may in the course of a lifetime, because of various reasons, never make this apparent, but the mischief we speak of necessarily resides in the system. We have no space for long quotations. We might show how that in the eighteenth century the Emperor Kang-hsi (A.D. 1662–1723) might have entered the Roman Church, if it had not been that he objected to the Pope being "a greater man than himself." *Politics* spoilt that business; but for documentary evidence we will content ourselves with one extract taken from the Pope's bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth.

The following is a quotation from the extraordinary document which was issued from St. Peter's, Rome, A.D. 1570:

"We do, out of the fulness of our apostolic

power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, being heretic, to have incurred the sentence of *anathema*, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And moreover we do declare her to be *deprived* of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid (of England), and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever.

"And also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others who have in any manner sworn to her, to be for ever *absolved from* any such *oath*, and all kind of *duty*, *fidelity* and *obedience*, as we do deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom. And we do command and interdict all and every, the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, *that they presume not to obey her, or her* monitions, mandates, and *laws*; and those who do the contrary we do involve in the same sentence of *anathema*."

That all of us Protestants are under the Papal curse, sits upon us much lighter than air. We treat Rome's anathemas not so much with supreme contempt, as with deep pity that the Bishops of Rome should make such mistakes of judgment, and in their system present such a parody of primitive Christianity to the gaze of the world. Rome would treat Queen Victoria in the same way if she dared, for she makes it her boast that "she never changes."

Now we consider this one quotation to be sufficient to sustain the position we have taken, viz.: that

Rome is hopelessly committed to politics of a mischievous and dangerous kind. We are pleading for *real religion* in China. A form of Christianity which is founded largely (if not chiefly) on traditions of more than a thousand years, is necessarily *complex*, and the tendency of that complexity is to grow with time. On the other hand, a Christianity which is founded on the New Testament is necessarily *simple*, and the more scriptural the more simple. And it is because "scriptural" and "simple" religion are only synonyms for "real religion" that we have so spoken of China's need. "China," Sir Robert Hart says, needs "*Christianity in its best form.*"

We do not for a moment deny that the Church of Rome has been fruitful in martyrs, confessors and saints. That numbers of her "priests" and members are humble and devoted Christians we freely admit. The root virtues of Christianity—humility, love, faith, devotion—are found in Sacerdotalists as well as in the other party; we believe their errors to be those of judgment rather than of heart. Nevertheless their *system* is mischievous at home and abroad; and they are saints not because of it, but in spite of it.

If it were enacted that any Christian minister of religion who sought to obtain ascendancy over the Chinese civil power by reason of his "ecclesiastical" position, should suffer the penalty of *deportation from China*—we believe there is not one Protestant Missionary who would not heartily submit to the

stepping-stone to gain ascendancy over their fellow-Christians, by an imaginary superiority which they assume to possess owing to some mystical powers supposed to attach to their ministerial office; who will develop the latent talent in the Church by encouraging members to take part in prayer and exhortation—talents often kept *latent* and never becoming *patent* at home, because of the limitations imposed on congregations by the "one man ministry," thus leaving Scriptural precedent (1 Cor. xiv. 23, 26, 31, 33), and in so doing practically making the officers to do all the fighting, and the rank and file nothing; and who thus, throwing themselves into every form of Christian activity—spiritual, educational and social—will ever keep well to the fore the cardinal truths which the Great Head of the Church entrusted to the Apostle of the Gentiles—*the forgiveness of sins and holiness of heart through faith in Christ.*

Chapter XIV

LADY MISSIONARIES IN THE INTERIOR OF CHINA

SIR THOMAS SUTHERLAND, in a speech given at the annual dinner of the China Association, already referred to, made the following remarks :—

"It might be incumbent upon us, and on the other nations in Europe, to re-cast, in some measure, the missionary policy which we had been pursuing in recent years. He doubted whether it had been a wise step to allow many hundreds of young unmarried women to go to live in the interior of China."

The sentiment expressed was received with marks of approval by his audience. The language, at any rate, had the merit of moderation. No definite policy is laid down, such, for instance, as that suggested by the *Ostasiatische Lloyd* [1] that "missionaries be restricted to spheres within thirty miles from a treaty port; female missionaries be restricted to the treaty ports."

On the other hand, there has been a great deal of immoderate and even reckless language used. Men have not hesitated to blame personally the heads of

[1] September 15, 1900.

missions in this respect, and hurl at them the cruel aspersion that they are responsible for the hateful massacre of tender women and innocent children, as if they had a monopoly of a virtue which was denied to missionaries—chivalry.

With most of these critics there is this most obvious fact, which seems to have escaped their notice. That they use arguments based on an abnormal, not to say unparalleled, series of events, as if they were events of common and regular occurrence. Sir Thomas says so truly that "most of us are even now oppressed with something like bewildered horror at the tragic occurrences which have recently taken place in China."

With the responsible Government of China sending out Imperial decrees to slaughter *every* foreigner, engaging her soldiery to bombard the residences of Ambassadors, residences crowded with women and children, what society would, under such circumstances, advocate the presence of unmarried ladies in the interior? Peking and Tientsin were, by a chain of miraculous events, saved the horrors of a general massacre, such as befell the missionaries of Shan-si, but it is no thanks to their position near the coast that they were delivered, as we all know. And the women and children in Peking and Tientsin may have been said to have been in far greater danger than women and children in the innermost territories of China—with the exception of Shan-si.

And why, may we ask, if unmarried ladies are to

be prohibited from entering the interior, should married ladies be permitted? The presence of married ladies involves the presence of children, and the presence of children necessitates oftentimes the presence of the unmarried lady. If objectors would urge the prohibition of all ladies and children in the interior it would at least be logical if not feasible. But the prohibition of all ladies and children involves great evils.

1. It involves enforced celibacy.

2. It involves tne non-Christianising of the Chinese women, or at any rate having this work done by celibate men, which is dangerous, objectionable, not understood by the Chinese, and a constant source of slander.

3. It involves the non-presentation of a pure family life, which is of all object lessons one of the most impressive to the Chinese, and which they can most easily appreciate.

4. It involves (what will not have the least weight with some) the ignoring of Scripture commands.

"On My servants and on My *handmaidens* in those days, will I pour forth of My Spirit; and they shall prophesy" (Acts ii. 18). "The Lord giveth the word; the *women* that publish the tidings are a great host" (Ps. lxviii. 11).

5. It involves the removal of persons of blameless life from a sphere where they have done incalculable good—*this* should appeal to non-believers in Scripture,

6. It involves needless interference with a class who are free agents, and have a perfect right to choose their own way of laying out their lives to what they consider the best advantage.

7. It involves the principle that there may be heroes for Christ, but no heroines, when it is notorious that all history confirms the fact, that the women were last at the post of danger at the foot of the Cross.

8. It involves cruelty to thousands of Chinese who deeply appreciate their ministrations, and by whom they are beloved.

9. It involves a backward step in the progress of the race. For their presence furthers the intercourse of nations under favourable circumstances.

It is worthy of remark that those who are most ready to decry the work of unmarried ladies in the interior of China, seldom or never speak from first-hand knowledge, having never been eye-witnesses of the work they condemn.

Having seen work in ten out of the eighteen provinces of China, and travelled extensively in seven of them, we venture to bring forward some facts on this point at issue.

Some nine years ago we went (in company with another) through the provinces of Cheh-kiang and Kiangsi, and going down the Kuang-hsin River, which flows into the P'o-yang Lake, we visited a chain of seven stations, each one of which was officered by unmarried ladies, the work amongst the men being

carried on by native pastors. In the first station there were 99 converts; in the second, 17; in the third, 0; in the fourth, 42; in the fifth, 5; in the sixth, 70; in the seventh, 10; a total of 243 converts. In each station, where there were converts, the ladies, loved and respected, were carrying on a noble work. The converts, brought out of the darkness and superstition of heathenism into the light and liberty of Christianity, were rejoicing in their freedom, and seeking, in the joy of their first love to Christ, to make their neighbours partakers of like benefits.

Nine years have passed; the converts in the seven stations above-mentioned now number—In the first, 172; in the second, 55; in the third, 66; in the fourth, 156; in the fifth, 112; in the sixth, 341; in the seventh, 86; many outstations and other stations have been opened, and the total number of converts is over 1,100—about 1,134.

Now here is production of "the salt of the earth" going on apace. Is such work to be stopped because of the irresponsible talk of some who express opinions, before they are possessed of the requisite information to enable them to do so judicially?

In the course of our journey down that river we met a lady working in the sixth station. She has been living there for twelve and a half years, without ever once leaving the people, either for a holiday or to go to the coast.

Being now in the home lands for a brief, well-

I went often into districts where no foreigner had been before, and the work was hard, the darkness great, and the people indifferent to the Gospel. There was some 'gossip,' of course, but, as my Bible-woman and I made our way in and out among the people, I met with much kindness then, and never with disrespect. Of late years the whole district seems changed—open doors on all sides, far more than we can enter. The fields are, indeed, 'white unto the harvest.' May God soon re-open the door, and let us return to those who are longing to see our faces again!"

The above is the testimony of Miss Marchbank. She ends by saying she has just received a letter from a native pastor, who testifies that the mandarin there is doing all he can to protect the native Christians and property left to his care.

The above testimony gives an admirable answer to the criticisms of the late Professor Max Müller. In his article on Buddhism in the *Nineteenth Century* of November, 1900, he refers to unmarried ladies in China. In speaking about Protestant missionaries he says: "Although they could not possibly, like the Jesuits, adapt themselves to the prejudices of the Chinese; they seem to have given greater offence than in their ignorance they imagined. To give one instance only. The European missions would send out not only married, but unmarried ladies, and persisted in doing so, though warned by those who knew China, that the Chinese

recognise in public life two classes of women only—married women and single women of bad character. What good results could the missions expect from the missionary labours of persons so despised by the Chinese?"

When we first read this passage, if it had not been for grief of heart at the wrong done, the sense of the ridiculous would have been overpowering. We should think it strange if an individual (whose sole knowledge of military matters extended to having once seen a military review in Hyde Park) should write a stinging criticism on the tactics of our generals in this late South African war. But this would not be so absurd as an Oxford professor, laying down the law on ladies' work in the interior of China, concerning a place he has never been to, people he has never seen, work about which he knows nothing, and calmly accusing heads of missions of "ignorance" of Chinese matters, who have been thirty, forty, and fifty years in the field!

Professor Max Müller was, no doubt, pre-eminent in the spheres of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology; but when he leaves those domains for ladies' work in the interior of China, we do not exactly see what his claims are for being listened to. When we compare the artless witness of that lady worker, mentioned above, with the studied dogmas of Max Müller, we have a striking example of the superiority of love over learning, and a demonstration of how often, in matters of *religion*, the intuitions of

a womanly heart transcend, as the heavens do the earth, the deductions of a masculine reason. He seems, too, to ignore the Buddhist nuns in China. Everybody will listen to Max Müller, yet we hope some will give an ear to what the weaker sex have to say. They have been hit hard—hit when down, and the British love of fair play demands that they should be heard. At any rate they can do *one* thing that their critics cannot do in the matter—they can "speak that they do *know* and testify of that which they have *seen*." As Colonel Denby, the late U.S.A. Minister to China, said: "I never believed in women's work in China *before I saw something of it*."

Miss Soltau, who spent over a year in China visiting the stations, especially the stations where ladies were working, gives the following independent testimony as to the work of the unmarried ladies along the Kuang-hsin River. She has sent us the following in writing:—

"As an eye-witness of the work of unmarried women in China, these points present themselves to me:—

"1. Their whole-hearted devotion to the Lord in their work.

"2. Their absorbing interest in those they were able to reach, so that they won the women and children by their patient, untiring love.

"3. Their patience in instructing the ignorant women.

"4. Their influence over the Christian men.

"The ladies took no prominent part in the public services ; this was in the hands of pastors and Evangelists. It seemed to me that the very weakness of the instruments called the Christian men to the front, and threw the responsibility upon them of the evangelising of their fellow-countrymen.

"5. The effect on the women converts of these lives was that they, in their turn, followed the example of their teachers in untiring zeal and love, being trained to become Bible-women, school teachers, visitors and matrons in the schools.

"Points that struck me forcibly were : The respect paid to those ladies, both by rich and poor ; the access they had to the homes of the wealthy as well as the poor ; the ease with which they made their way among the people ; the confidence shown them—from early morning till sunset people coming from all parts for counsel or help. Their houses were open to all who came—always a welcome—'hearts at leisure from themselves to soothe and sympathize.' In some places a good deal of work was done in dispensing simple medicines, which gave them access into the homes of the wealthy. In many cases the extreme kindness of the officials to them was most striking.

"In the boarding schools the girls were being trained to do all their own work, as they would be required to do in their own homes—washing, cook-

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ing, needlework, embroidery, and, in some cases, spinning."

Miss Soltau then goes on to speak of "similar schools in the province of Cheh-kiang." There she mentions that the girl scholars had "extraordinary proficiency in their knowledge of Scripture"; and any one who knows anything of the hope and brightness brought into a Chinese woman's life by the emancipating truths of the New Testament know, too, the *value* of such knowledge. "They were also learning the Chinese character and the Romanized, geography and arithmetic, besides all homely matters."

In conclusion, Miss Soltau, in speaking of these unmarried ladies and their work, says: "I would like to bear testimony to the simplicity of their lives, to their joy in service, to their lives of prayer, to their ceaseless and self-denying labours."

To this we would add our testimony that we believe that their work—sympathetic, conciliatory and elevating to the people—is amongst the most valuable work in China. Their absence would be irreparable loss. Their sex and position are the very things that assure the officials that *they*, at any rate, are not "political agents."

In the North of China, where such enormities have been committed, it will, of course, be quite impossible for ladies to work for some time; and it will be certain that, at first, only men will be able to enter the interior there. But, once given

a Liberal Progressive Government, and the country would speedily settle down, the only vestige of the past being a hideous memory. Railways will soon be opening up the country, mines in full swing, the happy relation which has existed between foreigners of all grades and the people of China re-established.

The idea of shutting out ladies, married or unmarried, when matters are thus tranquillized, is both antiquated and preposterous. The Powers will not leave the Chinese question until adequate guarantees for future security are forthcoming. Surely they will insist on China carrying out the letter and spirit of the treaties, and not annul treaty rights because of the fanatical acts of a handful of Manchu madmen.

Apropos of the subject of this chapter, we subjoin a personal incident :—

Coming home some years ago across the Pacific, I entered into conversation with a lady who had moved in high circles of Shanghai society. She was a widow or some years, vivacious and intelligent. Not knowing whom she was addressing, she began to speak disparagingly of missions, and when she came out with the remark, "There is one mission I do particularly object to, and that is the Hudson-Taylor Mission," I thought I had given her enough "rope," and answered, "I happen to be a member of the China Inland Mission ; but will you kindly tell me why you so particularly object to

it?" She laughed heartily, and apologised, after which she said, "Well, one thing is the sending of those young girls into the interior." Having just at that very time come from my visit on the Kuang-hsin River, I was able to give her the testimony of an eye-witness as to what these "young girls" were doing, their spirit of devotion, and the success attending their labours.

We often conversed after that, and before landing at Vancouver, she wanted to know the address of the China Inland Mission, as, she said, "I should like to give the mission a donation." Crossing the Continent, we went by different trains. I had business in New York, which detained me a day or two, after which I booked by a Cunard liner for England. On boarding the vessel, to my surprise, almost the first person I saw was this same lady. We had more conversation on missions going across the Atlantic, and before our journey had ended she came out with this: "I wish I were young again, for then I could go out to China myself as a missionary." It was a striking illustration, to me, of the way in which prejudice and misunderstanding sometimes vanish in the presence of a little accurate information.

Chapter XV

CONCLUSION

IN a very appreciative sketch of the life and doctrines of Confucius, which is characteristically generous, and errs, if anything, on the side of charity, Dr. Legge thus concludes in his prolegomena of the Chinese Classics: "I must now leave the sage. I hope I have not done him injustice; but after long study of his character and opinions I am unable to regard him as a great man. He was not before his age, though he was above the mass of the officers and scholars of his time. He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress. His influence has been wonderful, but it will henceforth wane. My opinion is that the faith of the nation in him will speedily and extensively pass away."

These words, written in 1861, are having increasing fulfilment. The young Emperor in 1898 issued an edict ordering Imperial clansmen to send their sons abroad to study foreign languages and government, and only to-day (November 26th) we have the newspapers telling us that the Chinese Am-

bassador to Berlin, and other high Chinese officials suggest, that the instigators of these late enormities should be sent abroad, so that in foreign countries they may gain repentance, and the fruits thereof in studying the government, sociology, and language of Western nations. And all this in face of the Master's warning, "Beware of foreign customs!"

Viceroy Chang Chïh-tung, perhaps the greatest, certainly the best known living Chinese scholar, brought out in 1898 a remarkable treatise with the significant title "Learn!" He shows his countrymen how much they have to learn from the nations of the West, and this in spite of the words of Mencius—a passage that was constantly on the lips of Li ping-heng when, with Yü-hsien, he was fostering the Boxer movement in Shan-tung province—"I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians!"

This friendly Viceroy still places too much faith in Confucianism for the regeneration of China; however, in the above-mentioned treatise, he makes the following candid remarks about Christianity: "The Western religion is daily flourishing, while the two cults (Buddhism and Taoism) are daily declining and cannot last long. Buddhism is on its last legs, and Taoism is discouraged because its demons are spiritless."

Such men as the Viceroy, in holding on to the Classics, lay themselves open to the unfriendly

gibes, and sneering taunts, which are constantly being levelled at them by their fellow-countrymen. It is the Classics that foster that over-weening conceit in the nation, which genders a "patriotism" in China which is as false as it is pernicious. The creed of these patriots is: "Hatred to the 'foreigner' *because* he is a foreigner, and to all things 'foreign' *because* they are foreign." These false patriots cannot endure the thought that China should be under obligation to *foreigners* for anything. This has been well brought out in some able articles that are now being published in the *North China Herald*, by the Rev. W. A. Cornaby, entitled "Chinese Problems." In a chapter on "Ruts," he says:—

"Admiral P'eng Yü-lin, of a decade or so back, in his book, *China's Indulgence toward Foreigners*, gives quite an elaborate dissertation on the unoriginality of foreign inventions.

"He says: 'Our philosopher, Mo-tzü (fourth and fifth century B.C.), who discusses transformations . . . is the founder of Chemistry. What our books say of hairs and strings, their weight, etc., is the beginning of the science of Mechanics. What they say about two lights meeting and forming an image on a mirror is the beginning of the science of Optics. Our philosopher, Kang Tsang-tze says that water is the refuse of the earth; vapour is the refuse of water. He is the founder of the science of Steam. Our classic, the Li King (*i.e. Book of Rites*), says

there is a divine force in the earth, and that when wind and thunder arise the dew falls; this is the science of Electricity. Moreover, our Kuan Yin-tze says that fire arises from striking one stone against another; that thunder and lightning arise from gases which can be made artificially. Our Huai Nan-tze (died B.C., 122) says that yellow earth, blue crystal, red cinnabar, white jade, and black stone, every year produce quicksilver. What is above the fountain of the earth is cloud, what results from intercourse of the yin and yang (*i.e.* "male" and "female") principles is thunder; their clashing produces lightning. Heat earth and we get wood, heat wood and we get fire, heat fire and we get clouds, heat clouds and we get water, heat the water and we get earth again. Thus we in China discuss electricity very minutely.

"'Now these intelligent Western scholars took this teaching and developed it, and own that they cannot surpass what is recorded in Chinese books. But Chinese scholars, unacquainted with their own philosophers of yore, are foolish enough when they see some strange thing used by foreigners, to think of it as new!'

"And further on: 'Do not think that the foreigner is truly skilled, it is the Chinese who most excels in these skilful things after all [the skilful things specially referred to being torpedoes, telephones, machinery, and locomotives] only that he does not care for them.' Which utterance

can only be excelled by a Chinese at Tientsin, some years back, who, pointing to the telegraph wires, said to a missionary: 'Have you got these Chinese things in your country?'

"Reading between the lines of that sturdy statesman just quoted, we may see, however, that it is the word 'foreigner' which is the crux of the whole difficulty. P'eng Yü-lin was an undoubted patriot, and there are many in China of all ranks and grades, who though not patriots, yet have sufficient strong national feeling to say: 'Let us be pulled out of our rut, by all means, but not by the foreigner.'"

This being so, we are not surprised to have Mr. Cornaby stating a little further on:—

"An enlightened official, like H. E. Chang Chïh-tung (Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan), who introduces iron works, arsenals, cotton and silk mills, who employs foreigners, and is in no sense their servant, must bear much popular obloquy, and be nicknamed, 'foreigner's slave,' even by neighbours and relatives of thousands who gain lucrative employment at these 'foreign' works."

And these things will never alter, so long as the Classics are looked upon by the Chinese as an ultimate court of appeal.

Mr. Cornaby, too, has some excellent remarks on "Mandarindom."

He opens by quoting two edicts of the Empress-Dowager—the gist of one being that "the mandarin

system is excellent," of the other that "many mandarins do not in their own persons exemplify the excellence of the system." However, Mr. Chester Holcomb has debated this last point. Mr. Cornaby answers :—

"Must we venture to differ, and, with most Europeans and with perhaps three hundred million Chinese to support our verdict, say that although mandarindom is about as corrupt an institution as can be, various individual mandarins are respectable and highly respected men?"

He then goes on to say, owing to the inadequacy of the mandarin's salary, it is virtually impossible for them to work out the "conscience-stirring maxims of Confucius in practice." He maintains that Confucius, if he were to appear in the flesh, would have no sympathy with mandarindom.

"And there is little doubt as to the treatment that mandarindom would mete out to Confucius, whom missionaries honour as a sage indeed, were he to revisit his old haunts in North China once more. He would fare little better than missionaries have fared in those precise provinces.

"How mandarindom would despise Confucius did it not get its living by trading on his name!

> "'But 'tis their duty, all the learned think,
> T' espouse his cause by whom they eat and drink,'

as Dryden reminds us."

He then asks :—

"What is there in Christian civilization or the presence of foreigners that mandarindom, as such, can utilise? The people have rebelled, times without number, against the extortions of mandarindom, and will any sort of education, administered by men hailing from lands where mandarindom is unknown, make the populace more submissive to extortion, however much the missionary may exhort his converts to be good citizens and respect the powers that be? 'Good citizens, forsooth! Why, the populace are having smuggled into their minds the principles of right and wrong! How can they then remain good citizens!'

"As Wan Sing, a Chinese banker in Chicago, said to a reporter recently: 'The advance of the so-called civilization . . . I hate every step of it!' So mandarindom is shouting all the time. For, with the 'rise of the people' is bound up the decline of mandarindom. And should foreign influence spread through China, as a ride in 'our' sedan-chair along the Bund, assures 'us' to be highly probable, then 'our' days are numbered. And what of 'our' vested interests?

"'Then that great customs building in the centre of the Shanghai Bund representing a foreign conspiracy whereby, on receipt of a definite salary, the whole of the proceeds go out of mandarins' pockets to the Imperial Government. Shall I, in time, have to learn from the barbarians and come down to that?'

"And a voice from the blue makes answer, 'Yes, or go!'"

The author of *Chinese Characteristics*, in his chapter on "The Absence of Sincerity," remarks: "It is unnecessary to do more than to allude in passing to the fact that the Chinese Government, so far as it is knowable, appears to be a gigantic example of the trait which we are discussing. Instances are to be found in the entire history of foreign relations with China, and one might almost say in all that is known of the relations of Chinese officials to the people. A single but compendious illustration is to be found in those virtuous *proclamations* which are issued with such unfailing regularity, in such superlative abundance, with such felicity of diction, on all varieties of subjects, and from all grades of officials. One thing only is lacking, namely, *reality*, for these fine commands are not intended to be enforced. This is quite understood by all concerned, and on this point there are no illusions."

Here our author quotes another :—

"The life and state papers of a Chinese statesman, like the Confessions of Rousseau, abound in the finest sentiments and the foulest deeds. He cuts off ten thousand heads, and cites a passage from Mencius about the sanctity of human life. He pockets the money given him to repair an embankment, and thus inundates a province, and he deplores the land lost to the cultivator of the soil. He makes a treaty which he secretly declares to be only a deception

for the moment, and he declaims against the crime of perjury."

Our author continues :—

"Doubtless there may be pure-minded and upright officials in China, but it is very hard to find them, and from the nature of their environment, they are utterly helpless to accomplish the good which they may have at heart. When we compare the actual condition of those who have had the best opportunity to become acquainted with the Chinese Classics, with the teaching of those Classics, we gain a vivid conception of how practically inert they have been to bring society to their high standard."

But brighter days are in store for China. The analogy of all past history shows us that the throes through which she is now passing will give birth to a better state of things. The New Testament has come, and come to stay. The bearers of the matchless documents which compose that book are proclaiming far and wide in the name of Christ forgiveness of sins, they are pressing the emancipating principles of love to God and man, and making known the gift of the Holy Spirit, as the alone vital motive force that will enable men to reduce those principles to practice. Already, from the young Emperor downwards, multitudes, millions have been touched more or less by this doctrine of hope.

There is a new China—young China—already in

between progress and reaction, between corruption and justice, between oppression and liberty.

I am, etc.,

A REFORMER.

4th October.

The following is the manifesto referred to :—

We, the undersigned, representatives of the people of China and members of the Reform Party, in view of the inevitable collapse of the Manchu dynasty and the grave situation into which its mad career and insane folly have plunged the Chinese nation, have met this day in convention, and, as a result of our deliberations, do hereby declare to the world :—

That the Chinese nation, falling back on the universal doctrine that the people are the source of political power, and the voice of the people is the voice of God, do hereby no longer recognise the Manchu Government as a political organization fit to rule over China.

It has signally failed to protect the persons and property of the people in proportion to the support they have given ; on the contrary, it has systematically robbed them of their substance, till at length the whole country is filled with poverty and want, distress and discontent.

It has utterly failed to preserve the territorial integrity of China, and consequently laid itself open to foreign aggression, insult, and invasion.

Its policy, both domestic and foreign, has been of a repressive and reactionary character. The object-lessons of repeated conflicts with Foreign Powers have had no appreciable effect upon its unmitigated conceit and wilful ignorance. In its relations and intercourse with the outside world, it invariably manifested a studied purpose to shut out all light and truth from the dark situation in which China was placed, hence the *laissez faire* policy by which she has been sedulously kept behind the times and given no chance to catch the animating and irrepressible spirit of modern ideas and progress.

When we look into the inwardness of its administrations, we find that it is rickety and rotten to the core. Every branch and department of the Government, inside and outside of Peking, is honeycombed with corruption. In short, the whole political fabric presents to the world a gigantic tissue of glaring falsehood unworthy of being propped up by any enlightened Power for consideration of commercial or political expediency.

Therefore be it

(1) Resolved, that, since the Almighty God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, has given to the Chinese people this magnificent country as its peculiar heritage, we henceforth and for ever intend to make it a heritage worthy of our Benefactor; that it is our bounden duty to make a new China of the old; to fill the land with happiness instead of misery; and to make it a blessing

to the Chinese nation in particular, and the world in general.

(2) Resolved, that it is our firm conviction that the simplest solution of the present complicated problem is for the Allied Powers to depose and banish the Usurper and her crew of servile bigots and reactionaries, and to reinstate the Emperor Kuang Hsü, who stood as the exponent and representative of Reform. This resumption will at once restore public confidence, allay popular discontent, and remove a possible cause of international complications.

(3) Resolved, that, in the event of Kuang Hsü no longer living, it is our purpose to organize a provisional Government and elect a temporary chairman, till the best man for Emperor be found, when he will be permanently seated on the throne of China.

(4) Resolved, that the new Government of China shall be a constitutional monarchy, whose fundamental principle shall be the Magna Charta and the unwritten constitution of the British Government. In the organization and administration of this constitutional Empire, we would request the wise men of the West to come, with the special sanction of their respective Governments, to help us with their counsel and experience.

(5) Resolved, that we propose to constitute a constitutional Empire, which in letter and in spirit, in legislation and in administration, in theory and

in practice, shall be a model polity, worthy of the creation of the highest intelligence and enlightenment of the Twentieth Century.

(6) Resolved, that, availing ourselves of the experience, light and wisdom of the past twenty centuries, it shall be our first duty to educate the people to the new order of things; to study their wants; to protect their persons and property; to abolish all social and political evils; to establish a sound fiscal policy; to regulate the finances; to determine upon the system of national banks; to establish a universal system of graded schools; to improve and stimulate agriculture; to encourage and facilitate trade; and to throw wide open the whole of China to foreign trade on a footing of equality.

(7) Resolved, that, in order to maintain the public peace and to give protection and security to domestic and foreign commerce, the army and navy be organized on the most modern footing without delay. For this purpose military and naval schools shall be established for the training of officers.

(8) Resolved, that the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury in all courts of justice be available by every subject of the Empire, and that before them every man shall stand on an equal footing.

(9) Resolved, that every subject of the new Government shall be entitled to enjoy freedom of conscience and faith, of private judgment and speech. Neither outside dictation, nor ecclesiastical

supremacy of any kind, shall be allowed to interfere with, or intervene between, the civil authorities and the exercise of the rights of the people.

(10) Resolved, that the new constitutional Empire, in assuming the Government of the Empire, shall assume all the responsibilities and obligations towards foreign Powers contracted by the old *régime*, and shall faithfully discharge the National Debt and fulfil all treaty obligations. And, finally, that every effort shall be made to make every branch and department of the new Government and its administration honest and pure, so as to realize the great political doctrine of Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The idea is present in many minds, that the Emperor Kuang Hsü is weak-minded. This is not so. He has had, for a time, to waive his rights, predilections, and aspirations; but, in doing so, he has only yielded to *force majeure*. Hitherto his life has been spared as by a miracle. We have heard he daily prays to God to give him back his throne. Let us join with those prayers; and trust that, coming again to power, he will be enabled to bring to fruition those beneficent reforms with which his name must be for ever associated.

And now what is the outlook? How shall the terrible *race hatred* which has been so embittered and intensified these last two or three years in China be assuaged? The Empress-Dowager, by

her mischievous edicts, fanned the spark into a flame; she based all her appeals to the prejudices of the scholars and the passions of the masses on foreign seizure of territory; and now, when China is at the mercy of foreign powers, and her capital occupied by foreign troops, what do we see? *No power is demanding an inch of soil.* They emphatically repudiate any such intention; they are willing to guarantee the territorial integrity of China. The Manchu conception of things is demonstrated to be A GIGANTIC BLUNDER. Will China honestly acknowledge this? Will she make it plain to her "scholars, farmers, labourers, and merchants"? Will suspicion of the foreigners give way to trust? Will hatred be replaced by good-will? It is to be deplored that some articles in first-class Reviews, Reviews that largely mould educated opinion, will have no tendency to promote a healthy view of things at home, or act reflexly in China to bring about that most desirable consummation.

Sir Robert Hart has written an article in the *Fortnightly Review* of November. It seems to us an apology for Manchu iniquity. Patriotism is confounded with a blind conservatism. *The Spectator* criticises his main contention as being "only his functional opinion as a paid servant of the dynasty."

Professor Max Müller was pleased, in the *Nineteenth Century*, to practically exonerate the Boxers on the ground of Christian provocation! Speaking of the missionaries of the Reformed Churches, he

says that, "trusting in the protection of Foreign Powers, they seem, on various occasions, to have provoked the national sensibilities of the Chinese, and thus, *particularly in the case of their native converts, to have encouraged the Chinese to commit such atrocities as those we have just been witnessing.*" Let this attack on the native converts, more unjust if possible than his attack on lady missionaries, be answered by the fact of many thousands of native Protestant Christians laying down their lives in martyrdom, the vast majority of them without giving the slightest provocation whatever. Some of us pastors, who mourn the loss of flocks, might have thought we could have been spared such stabs in the back, concerning those as dear to us as children, from men who profess the Christian name. We knew such tenets were held by Yü-hsien, but did not expect Germans and Englishmen to subscribe to his creed.

And further, he says: "To claim any privilege, however small, for Chinese converts was certainly an imprudence on the part of the great European Powers. In Chinese Society, any attempt to raise the social status of these Christian converts was sure to excite jealousy and even hatred. After our late experiences, it must be quite clear that it is *more than doubtful whether Christian missionaries should be sent or even allowed to go to countries the Government of which objects to their presence.* It is always and everywhere the same story. First commercial

adventurers, then consuls, then missionaries, then soldiers, then war."

In this last sentence he almost quotes some well-meaning but most unfortunate words of Lord Salisbury. But is it "*always* and *everywhere* the same story"? We have not so read the history of China. We have hitherto imagined that the first war that foreign soldiers waged with China went by the significant name of the *opium* war, and missionaries may be said to have had rather less to do with that than the man in the moon. It is true that the successful conduct of the *peace* negotiations at Nanking devolved on a British missionary, J. R. Morrison, who received no remuneration for his services from the British Government, and whose death, shortly after, Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Plenipotentiary, affirmed to be "a positive national calamity." Just as it is also true that recently another British missionary, Brown of Tientsin, piloted General Gaselee and the British troops into Peking hours before the other forces; and an American missionary, Gamewell, superintended the trench work in the Legation siege.

And what about consuls? "Then consuls, then missionaries," was Max Müller's order. We thought that missionaries were in China more than a millennium before them. Even modern missionaries were in China before consuls. While as to gunboats, they may, under favourable circumstances, be able to hurl their shots a few miles, but they have not

much to do with hundreds of missionaries from a hundred to five hundred miles away from the nearest Treaty Port.

When the late Professor Max Müller declared that the European Powers "committed an imprudence in claiming any privileges for Chinese converts," or "seeking to raise their social status"; and, that "it is more than doubtful whether missionaries should be allowed to go to countries the Governments of which object to their presence," what was he talking about? We cannot suppose he was ignorant of the Treaty of Tientsin. That Treaty secured the toleration of Christianity. The Professor would not surely have objected to this. We cannot see how the virtual founder of the "science of comparative religion" could take exception to religious toleration. Moreover, the Chinese Government, in tolerating Christianity, gave as its reason for doing so, that the Christian religion taught men "to love their neighbours as themselves." *It was admitted on that ground.* And any government would be foolish indeed who did otherwise. What government does not know the practical value of altruism? What government is not quick to appreciate the help given to it by *true religion*? Could Britain afford to dispense with the God-fearing portion of her populace? It is a mere truism to say that real Christians give no trouble to governments, and constitute their strength. Such need no jails. They break no laws. If missionaries carry out somewhat in their lives,

and introduce into China, the saint-producing principles of disinterested love to God and man, what Chinese statesman, worthy of the name, would say that these were "evil doctrines," and the propagation of them boded China's ill? No government on earth has the right to "object to the presence" of such teachers. On the contrary, every government should bid them welcome.

Again, the agreement of the Chinese Government that converts should not be forced to pay the idolatrous temple tax is not a "privilege," except in the sense that becoming a Christian is a privilege. The two are *necessarily* one. And it cannot be said that the "social status of the converts is raised thereby." On the contrary, if anything, it is lowered.

The Professor's remarks were far too late in the day. China has tolerated Christianity, and she will *have* to tolerate it. No doubt men like Wu ting-fang, Yang yu, and Lo feng-luh hate Christianity, notwithstanding the professed conversion of the last-named at Bristol. But the Professor fell into a trap if he thought the opinions of such men represent the opinions of the most enlightened Chinese. Even *thorough-going Confucianists* do not agree with him. Listen to the words of Chang Chïh-tung, the celebrated Viceroy of central China, on "Religious toleration."

"Our own opinion is, that in order to advance Confucianism we must reform the Government, and not everlastingly combat other religions. The

times are changed now—the present is not the past. Since the treaties were made, the Western religion has spread over China. Our laws permit it, and the burning of chapels by Chinese is forbidden by our Emperor. The higher class of Chinese should carefully consider the situation, and should tolerate the Western religion as they tolerate Buddhism and Taoism. Why should it injure us? And because Confucianism as now practised is inadequate to lift us from the present plight, why retaliate by scoffing at other religions? Not only is such a procedure useless; it is dangerous. For the people imitate their rulers, and the scoundrels and rapscallions of China take occasion to create disturbances against foreigners, and *without provocation injure them*, and thus grieve the heart of our Emperor. The foreigners themselves are aroused against us, and calamity falls like gloom upon the country. How can such men be called patriotic?

"Ye long-robed and begirdled Confucianists, it is your office and duty to instruct the ignorant people, and not be fools yourselves, lest the men from beyond the seas sneer at you behind your backs!"

We attack not the departed, learned, and justly lamented Professor Max Müller. We consider, however, that his misjudged *opinions* concerning missions in China are completely refuted not by our replies, but by the above quotation from the writings of one of China's truest patriots and most able

statesmen. *He* is not among those who, with the late Professor, hold that "the Protestant missionaries, and especially their converts, have provoked the Chinese sensibilities, and thus encouraged them to commit such atrocities." Writing as a missionary, it is impossible to escape the charges of making *ex parte* statements and prejudice. Notwithstanding this, we insert the following paragraph occurring in the *North China Herald* of October 31st, 1900, in a leading article. It must be understood to represent the views of the leading *secular* paper in Shanghai.

"When the history of the present crisis in China comes to be written impersonally and the glamour of a heroism in Peking, which came, alas! too late to avert the disaster which an open mind and prudent forethought might have entirely prevented, has passed away, then it will also become clear that far from it being through the missionary that this calamity came, his was the warning voice which would have saved the situation had it fallen upon hearing ears. From the time when a leading missionary pleaded *in formâ pauperis* to the British Minister for the Emperor Kuang-Hsü and was told in effect to mind his own business, to the murder of Messrs. Norman and Robinson, it may be said that warnings as to the trend and end of events incessantly went from the missionaries to Peking, and were as incessantly neglected.

"What of all this? *Post factum stultus sapit.* It

is ours to see that what has occurred in China does not occur again. The past is beyond recall; much of the future is ours. If there is one body of residents in China more than another qualified to speak on the course of events, it is the missionary. The average missionary has in his hands sources of information denied to the most energetic consul. He has the friendship and often confidence of progressive officials. He grasps the Chinese standpoint, and knows much of the working of the Chinese mind. Amongst foreign residents in China his position is unique. How may this be made use of for the protection of the missionary interest in China, which in the long run is bound to coincide with foreign interests generally? At present missionary interests in China are inarticulate. It is suggested that the missionary body at once set about the organization of a strong representative executive on the lines of the China Association. Such an executive, with its comprehensive sources of information and capacity of judgment, must command respect, and its expressions of opinion be of immense value to all foreigners in China. It would naturally watch events in the interests of its own labours, and advise Consuls, Ministers, and where necessary the home Governments. Is it not more than probable that had a representative body, such as is here suggested, instead of individuals, drawn the attention of the world to what was preparing in Shantung and Chihli six months ago,

our heaven-sent diplomats might have acted very differently? Shall the future be what the past has been? and is the agony and suffering of missionaries and converts to be without effect in the safe-guarding of the future? These questions are commended to the thinking public in general and to the missionaries in particular."

Far be it from us as missionaries, however, to blow our own trumpets. Who of us does not lament the shortcoming and failure which attend our efforts?

The following words, which we have just received from the Rev. Timothy Richard, would voice the sentiments of the missionary body. Mr. Richard is Secretary to the Christian Literature Society, one of China's most able and devoted missionaries, and on terms of intimacy with the highest officials in the Empire:—

"It has been a terrible year of trial. Is our work straw and stubble, or is it something that will come out like gold out of the fire? We, as missionaries, are tried in all our relationships to the Chinese Government, to Foreign Governments, to the whole Christian Church at home, to the multitudes of heathen people abroad. Have we shown the Christ in His fulness as Prophet, the Teacher of the nations, as Priest, the Guide of the world to God, and as King of kings, and Lord of lords?

"Educational, superhuman and political, we are weighed in all these balances to see if we are what

we should be. Oh, how imperfect and wanting the best of us all feel!"

Yet, let us, in spite of all, keep optimistic. Sir Robert Hart, in his article referred to above, says, "Nothing but partition or a miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form—*a not impossible but scarcely to be looked-for* religious triumph—will avert the result" (of the foreigner being cast out of China). Let us hold to these old sayings, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," "the darkest hour is before the dawn," and, above all, the promises of Scripture, remembering that "the things which are impossible with men are possible with God."

And now we must bring this book, or rather *compilation*, to a close. Our hope is that, as an outcome of its perusal, some who have not yet decided how they shall lay out the *one* life they have at their disposal, may be led to consider the claims of this great nation on their services. Great Britain would not be the loser, but only a gainer, if many of her most gifted, most learned and most holy went out into the great heathen fields.

"Give, and *it shall be given unto you*, good measure, pressed down, shaken together and running over"—is a principle which holds good of individuals, churches, and nations.

"There is that scattereth, and increaseth yet more; there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth only to want" (Prov. xi. 24).

The ancient prophet grasped the purpose of the Most High, and the *wise* will do well to give themselves up to an intelligent co-operation with that will, and, in so doing, hasten its grand consummation.

"As the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth: so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before *all* the nations" (Isa. lxi. 11).

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

NOTE 1. As to the "dauntless mendacity" of some of the Chinese Ambassadors in foreign countries, at the time of the siege of the Legations mentioned in this book, the phrase may be charitably withdrawn; as, owing to the monstrously untrue instructions issued by the Manchu Government to them at the time, they may have been deceived by their own Government.

NOTE 2. The late writings of K'ang yu-wei, the leading Reformer in 1898, have been most disappointing. In them he speaks of foreigners and foreign countries in a way which betokens both ignorance and ingratitude.

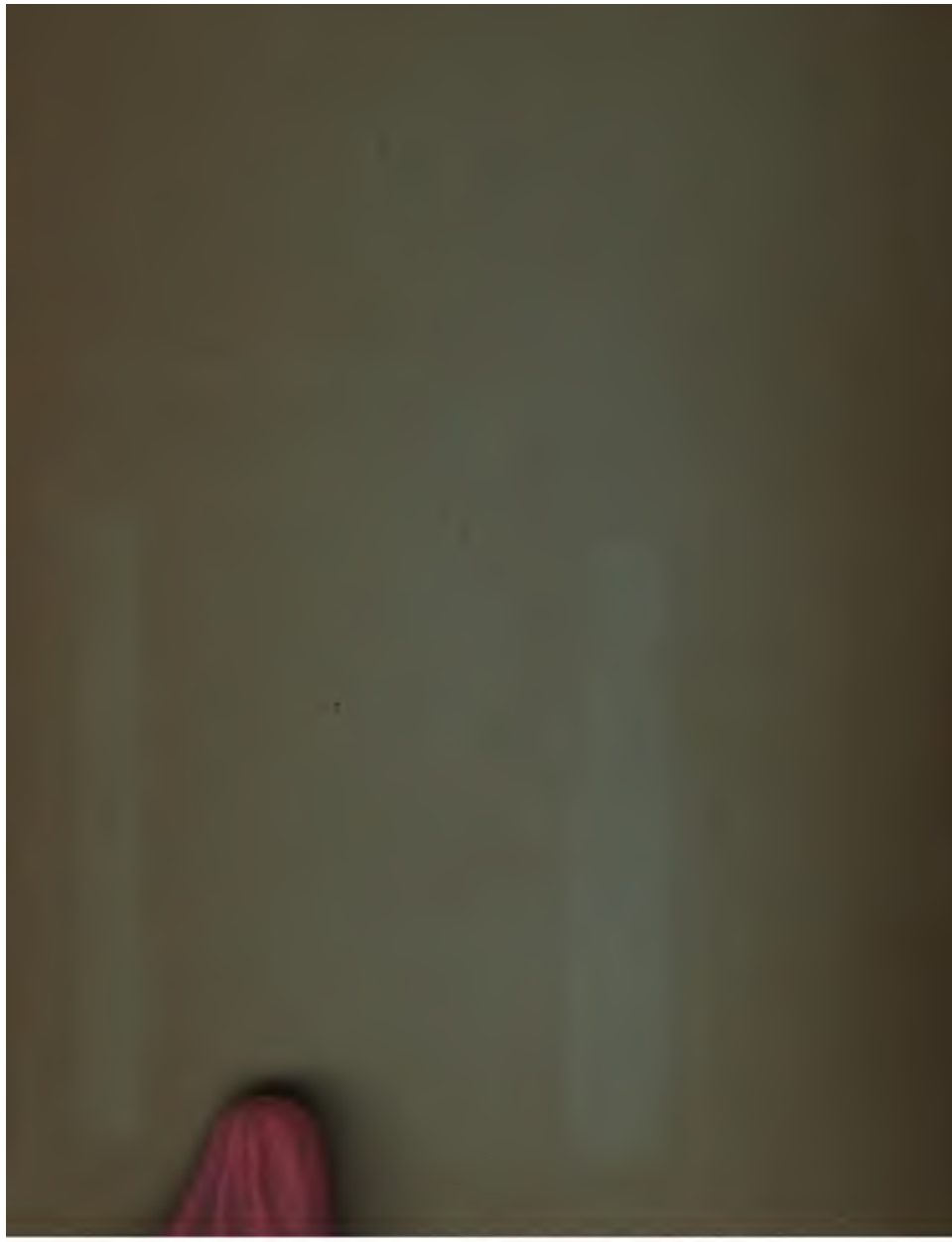
NOTE 3. In Chinese, pronounce final 'a' as a in father; final 'i' as ēe; final 'o' as or in for; final 'ou' as o; final 'ao' as the ow in now; final 'ai' as the i in pint; final 'ei' as the ay in say; final 'uan' as the wan in want.

ERRATA

Date of Chinese-Japanese war given as 1897; it should be 1894, 1895,—Russia obtaining Port Arthur in the latter year.

In the concluding chapter John Robert Morrison is described as "a British missionary." He should rather be spoken of as a British official, who spent his spare time in missionary work. He was son of Robert Morrison, the pioneer Protestant missionary to China.

Footnote to clause in Chapter XIV., concerning Professor Max Müller, "He seems, too, to ignore the Buddhist nuns in China." It must be admitted, however, that in many parts of China these nuns have a bad reputation.



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